

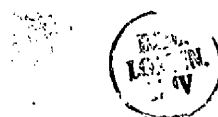
**The Concept of *Danzō*: “Sandalwood Images”
in Japanese Buddhist Sculpture of the
8th to 14th Centuries**

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for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines Buddhist images known as *danzō* (sandalwood sculptures) in Japan from the 8th to 14th centuries in terms of the types of material used to make them, their distinctive form (as determined by iconography and style), and the religious functions for which they were used. All three of these fundamental defining elements are considered essential for a comprehensive understanding of *danzō* as religious icons, but for the clarification of crucial issues the first two chapters examine each of these elements separately. Chapters One and Two consider issues concerning definitions of materials, form according to different iconographic types and period styles, the expression of *shōgon* (sublime adornment) and religious functions. Chapter Three provides a classification of the various types of *dangan* (portable sandalwood shrines). Chapters Four to Six examine the various iconographic types classified according to Nyorai, Kannon, and other Bosatsu and tutelary deities.

This dissertation proposes a new definition of the form of *danzō* based on the distinction between the type-style and period-style, in which the expression of the aesthetic-religious concept of *shōgon* is argued to be of central significance and *danzō* are considered as objects of *shōgon* par excellence. Furthermore, textual evidence is presented to suggest that the two most common religious functions of *danzō* were as icons in ceremonies and for personal devotion for high-ranking monks, aristocrats, and members of the imperial family, which reflects the special sanctity ascribed to these images. The aim of this dissertation is to arrive at a more inclusive understanding of *danzō* as religious icons with distinctive material, formal and functional characteristics that define them as a unique group of religious icons within Japanese Buddhist sculpture.

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INTRODUCTION

Buddhist sculptures, although visually compelling, cannot merely be studied in aesthetic terms, since the original reason for their creation was to serve a religious function as icons for veneration and rituals. It is essential, therefore, to consider Buddhist sculptures not only in terms of their formal characteristics such as material, style and iconography, but to expand this view to include their function as religious icons and thus to examine them in context.¹

This approach represents a synthesis between the methodologies used by art historians, who often focus their analysis of Buddhist images on style and iconography and scholars of religion, who are apt to study Buddhist images as symbols or representations of textual sources.² Therefore, the definition of Buddhist sculptures as religious icons requires a detailed examination of their material, form (iconography and style) and religious function.³

This methodology is particularly appropriate when the subject of investigation is a category of religious images, *danzō* (檀像; sandalwood sculptures), that were believed to differ from other Buddhist images through their special degree of sanctity and efficacy. The concept and making of *danzō*, which originated in India and was introduced from China to Japan during the Nara period (710-794) can be traced back to two textual traditions: the Udayana Shaka legend recorded in the *Ekottarāgama Sūtra* (J: *Zōitsu*

¹ For a detailed discussion of the vital importance of religious functions of Buddhist art, see Dietrich Seckel, *Buddhist Art of East Asia* (Bellingham: Western Washington University, 1989), pp. 189-203.

² For a discussion of these two approaches to the study of Buddhist art and a synthesis between the two, see Robert H. Sharf, "Prolegomenon to the Study of Buddhist Icons," in *Japanese Buddhist Icons in Context*, eds. Robert H. Sharf and Elizabeth Horton Sharf (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), pp. 1-18.

³ For a discussion of the iconological approach, applied to *danzō* in this study, see Erwin Panofsky, "Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art," in Erwin Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (London: Penguin Books 1993; reprint), pp. 51-81; particularly diagram, p. 66.

agon-kyō; 増一阿含經) and the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra* (Sk: *Ekādasamukha-dhārani Sūtra*; J: *Jūichimen Kanzeon shinju-kyō*; 十一面觀世音神呪經).

The Udayana Shaka legend recounts how King Udayana of Kausambi commissioned a portrait sculpture of the historical Buddha Śākyamuni, which was made out of ox-head sandalwood (J: *gozu sendan*; 牛頭栴檀) and five *shaku* in height, to keep him company during the historical Buddha's absence.⁴ This legend illustrates the choice of sandalwood for the most sacred of images, a portrait sculpture of the historical Buddha Śākyamuni himself and thus reflects the special sanctity of sandalwood as a material for particularly sacred images.

All four translations of the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra*, two of which were known in Japan by the 730s, stipulate that when making an image of this deity, only the finest quality of sandalwood (J: *byakudan*; 白檀) should be used.⁵ Yasogupta's translation of 570 specifies that the sandalwood must be fine-grained and that the image must be one *shaku* and three *sun* in height.⁶ This illustrates the choice of sandalwood as a material for the making of particularly sacred images of the Eleven-Headed Kannon and the restriction of their size to one *shaku* and three *sun*, which may have been partly due to the preciousness and natural limitations of the material.⁷

Apart from the two categories of *danzō* based on the Udayana Shaka legend and the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra*, there are two other categories of *danzō*, which at present,

⁴ For a detailed account of this legend, see Alexander C. Soper, *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1959), pp. 259-65; Martha L. Carter, *The Mystery of the Udayana Buddha* (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1990); and Robert H. Sharf, "The Scripture on the Production of Buddha Images," in *Religions of China in Practice*, ed. Donald S. Lopez Jr. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. 262-63.

⁵ Xuanzang's translation of the sūtra was recorded in the Nara capital in 733 and Yasogupta's in 738; Ishida Mosaku, *Shakyō yori mitaru Nara-chō bukkyō no kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1930; reprint Tokyo: Hara shobō, 1982), pp. 84 and 89.

⁶ Mochizuki Shinkō, ed. *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Bukkyō daijiten hakkōsho, 1936), pp. 2206-2207a.

⁷ One *shaku* is the equivalent of 30.303 cm; one *sun* is the equivalent of 3.030 cm.

cannot be linked to a specific textual tradition: *dangan* (檀龕; sandalwood shrines), which are small portable shrines first brought from China to Japan by travelling monks and wooden boards, mostly made from sandalwood, with Buddhist deities carved in relief (J: *dan-inbutsu*; 檀印仏), often representing mandalas.⁸ Out of these four categories of *danzō*, two form the subject of this dissertation: free-standing *danzō* of small size, which derive from the textual tradition of the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra*, but as will be seen, are not iconographically restricted to representations of the Eleven-Headed Kannon and small portable shrines (*dangan*).

The reason for the exclusion of *danzō* of Udayana Shaka is that they represent an entirely separate phenomenon, in which a particular icon was at the centre of a cult. It was believed that by closely copying the original sculpture, the copy would be imbued with the spiritual power and efficacy of the original. It is therefore an example of the prime object-replication phenomenon as pointed out by Donald McCallum and similar to the cult and copying of the Zenkō-ji icon.⁹ Therefore, *danzō* of Udayana Shaka will not be considered in this dissertation beyond the analogies that may be used for an understanding of the two categories of *danzō* considered here.

Another category of *danzō* that will not be included in this dissertation is wooden boards incised with Buddhist deities in relief (*dan-inbutsu*), often representing mandalas. The reason for their exclusion is that their form is that of a relief rather than a sculpture and their function is that of ritual implements in ceremonies to stamp images in the air or

⁸ For examples of *dan-inbutsu*, see Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Danzō: byakudanbutsu kara Nihon no mokuchō butsu e* (Nara: Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 1991), pls. 11-13, 15-18.

⁹ For a study of this phenomenon based on the Seiryō-ji Shaka tradition, see Donald F. McCallum, "The Saidai-ji Lineage of the Seiryōji Shaka Tradition," *Archives of Asian Art*, vol. 49, (1996), pp. 51-67; for a study of this phenomenon based on the Zenkō-ji icon, see Donald F. McCallum, *Zenkō-ji and Its Icon: A Study in Medieval Japanese Religious Art* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994).

on water and therefore should be considered in the context of ritual implements rather than cult images.¹⁰

The two categories of *danzō* that will be examined in this dissertation, namely free-standing sculptures of small size derived from the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra* and small portable shrines (*dangan*), share many material and formal characteristics and, as will be demonstrated, their religious functions were also similar, which make it justifiable to study them as a single group. Therefore, the term *danzō* in this dissertation refers to small, free-standing sculptures and *dangan*. In addition to Japanese examples from the 8th to the 14th century, when an indigenous *danzō* tradition flourished in Japan, I will examine Chinese examples from the 6th to the 13th century, which were imported to Japan and played a major role in the establishment of an indigenous *danzō* tradition in Japan.

Previous studies on *danzō* have mostly focused on issues concerning material or style or a combination of the two. The work of Oka Naomi is mostly concerned with the stylistic development of *danzō*.¹¹ Studies by Mōri Hisashi and Kuno Takeshi focus on issues of style and to some extent, material, whilst Donald Wood's research is concentrated on issues of style and material confined to *danzō* of the Eleven-Headed Kannon.¹² Inoue Tadashi's research on *danzō* focuses mostly on material and some

¹⁰ For a detailed discussion of *dan-inbutsu*, see Tanabe Saburōsuke, "Kodai no Inbutsu ni tsuite," reprinted in *Tanabe Saburōsuke chōkokushi ronshū: Nihon chōkoku to sono shūhen* (Tokyo: Bijutsu shuppan, 2001), pp. 424-456.

¹¹ Oka Naomi, "Danzō yōshiki to sono shiteki hatten ni tsuite," *Mikkyō Kenkyū*, no. 67 (1938), pp. 33-70.

¹² Mōri Hisashi, "Heian jidai no danzō ni tsuite," reprinted in *Nihon bukkyō chōkokushi no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Hozokan, 1970), pp. 134-45; Kuno Takeshi, "Danzō chōkoku no tenkai," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, no. 43 (July 1960), pp. 31-55; Donald A. Wood, "Eleven Faces of the Bodhisattva," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Kansas, 1985.

stylistic issues.¹³ Recent studies by Suzuki Yoshihiro examine questions related to material and substitute materials of *danzō*.¹⁴ The work of Tazawa Yutaka, Inoue Katsutoshi and Samuel Morse has explored the role of imported Chinese and Japanese *danzō* of the 8th and early 9th centuries in the establishment of a plain-wood sculpture style in the early Heian period.¹⁵ The exhibition catalogue of the *danzō* exhibition held at the Nara National Museum in 1991, attempts a broad overview of different types of *danzō* without providing a clear definition of the concept of *danzō* on which the selection of the sculptures may be based.¹⁶

While contributing a wealth of valuable material, none of these previous studies have provided a systematic classification of *danzō* according to iconographic types, a definition of their form that can be applied to different iconographic types and period styles, an exploration of the expression of the vital element of *shōgon* (莊嚴) in *danzō*, and an examination of their religious functions.

Regarding the definition of a *danzō* style by Japanese scholars—particularly Mōri Hisashi and Kuno Takeshi—Donald Wood in his research on *danzō* of Jūichimen Kannon has pointed out the shortcomings of their definition and argues, “that artistically these pieces changed with the styles of the times, while technically the special features of

¹³ Inoue Tadashi, “Danjiki no igi to Yōryū-ji Kannon bosatsu zō: danzōkei chōkoku no shosō 1,” *Gakusō*, no. 3 (1981), pp. 27-52; Inoue Tadashi, “Kanbodai-ji Jūichimen Kannon ryūzō ni suite: danzōkei chōkoku no shosō 2,” *Gakusō*, no. 5 (1983), pp. 13-40; Inoue Tadashi, *Danzō*, Nihon no bijutsu, no. 253 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1987).

¹⁴ Suzuki Yoshihiro, “Danzō no gainen to hakuboku no igi,” In Nihon bijutsu zenshū, vol. 5, *Mikkyō jīm to chōkoku: Heian no kenchiku, chōkoku 1*, eds. Mizuno Keizaburō et al. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1992), pp. 169-78; and Suzuki Yoshihiro, “Hakubokuzō to danzō chōkoku,” *Bijutsushi*, no. 107 (November 1979), pp. 15-35.

¹⁵ Tazawa Yutaka, “Heianchō shoki okeru mokuzōchōkoku no kōryū ni kanshite,” (jō), *Bijutsu Kenkyū*, no. 128 (January 1943), pp. 1-7; Inoue Katsutoshi, “Danzōkō: Heian shoki chōkokushi e no joshō,” *Bunka shigaku*, no. 37 (November 1981), pp. 1-20; Samuel C. Morse, “The Formation of the Plain-Wood Style and the Development of Japanese Buddhist Sculpture: 760-840.” Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1985, pp. 181-242 and 299-312.

¹⁶ Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Danzō: byakudanbutsu kara Nihon no mokuchō butsu e* (Nara: Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 1991).

wood sculptures that are manifest within them remained relatively constant. The establishment of a sandalwood style of sculpture is thus somewhat inconclusive.”¹⁷ While agreeing with Donald Wood’s conclusion, I will argue that the problems of a *danzō* style as defined by Japanese scholars lies in their failure to distinguish between the type-style, which remains constant and defines *danzō* as a coherent group and the period-style, which changes over time and interacts with the type-style. Based on this distinction I will propose a definition of the type-style of *danzō*, which is applicable to *danzō* of different period styles and iconographic types.

Furthermore, I will demonstrate that the aesthetic-religious concept of *shōgon* (sublime adornment), which is important to Buddhist art in general, is of particular importance for *danzō*, since it deeply pervades and unites the two elements of material and form in the concept of *danzō*, making *danzō* into objects of *shōgon* par excellence. Moreover, I will examine textual and material evidence to establish the religious functions of *danzō* with special consideration of issues of patronage.

Therefore, the nature of this dissertation is typological and systematic rather than historical and sequential. Chapters One and Two provide a definition of the three elements of material, form (iconography and style) and religious function that make up the concept of *danzō*. This represents the conceptual framework for the iconographical and stylistic analysis of *danzō* and *dangan* in Chapters Three to Six, which is vital for the dating of the images.

Chapter Three provides a classification of the different types of *dangan*, whilst Chapters Four to Six classify *danzō* according to iconographic types. The main reason for this structure is the exploration of the various iconographic types of deities that were

¹⁷ Wood, “Eleven Faces of the Bodhisattva,” p. 359.

represented as *danzō* and by additionally drawing on textual sources to examine how frequently specific iconographic types were represented as *danzō*. Furthermore, the classification according to iconographic types is suitable for a detailed examination of the expression of the vital element of *shōgon* according to iconographic types and period style, which is a major theme explored throughout Chapters Three to Six.

It is hoped that this dissertation will lead to a deeper and more inclusive understanding of *danzō* as religious icons of special sanctity and efficacy with distinctive material, formal and functional characteristics that define them as a coherent and unique group of religious images within Japanese Buddhist sculpture.

CHAPTER 1

MATERIALS OF *DANZŌ*

As the name *danzō* (sandalwood sculpture) implies, it refers to sculptures made out of *danboku* (檀木; sandalwood). In this sense, the material is the most fundamental element in the concept of *danzō*. Since sandalwood was chosen as the most suitable material for the making of images of special sanctity and efficacy, the aim of this chapter is to examine the inherent physical and ascribed spiritual properties of sandalwood in order to understand why it was regarded as a sacred material throughout the Buddhist world. Another issue that will be examined in this chapter is the origin of *danzō* making in India and its subsequent transmission via China to Japan. Special attention will be given to the transmission of material and technical and textual knowledge for the establishment of an indigenous *danzō* tradition in Japan.

In this context the frequent use of substitute materials with similar characteristics to those of sandalwood in both China and Japan will be explored. Once a definition of the material has been established in this way, the aim is to refine this definition further by examining main issues in the study of *danzō* related to material such as the importance of size and intricate carving technique as well as issues of surface treatment such as the problem of *danjiki* (檀色; sandalwood colour) and the application of cut-gold leaf decoration (*kirikane*; 切金). In this way it will be attempted to define the material element as clearly as possible, highlighting its special characteristics by discussing them in relation to the various scholarly theories about them and illustrating that, although material is only one of three elements that make up the concept of *danzō*, it is nevertheless a crucial one.

1. Sandalwood and *Danzō* Carving in India and China

The legend of King Udayāna of Kausambi, recorded in the *Ekottarāgama Sūtra* (J: *Zōitsu agon-kyō*; 增一阿含經), recounts the story of the commissioning of the first image of the historical Buddha Śākyamuni made out of ox-head sandalwood (J: *gozu sendan*; 牛頭栴檀).¹ This story is of great significance for the use of sandalwood for the making of Buddhist images, since it shows that sandalwood was regarded as the most sacred and therefore, the most suitable material for the making of the first Buddhist image, which most importantly, was a portrait sculpture of the historical Buddha himself.² The association of sandalwood as a material with the very first image of the historical Buddha, which could be regarded in terms of its historical and religious importance as the prototype of all Buddhist sculptures—embodying the very essence of Buddhism—put sandalwood in a category of its own as a material for Buddhist sculpture.

In order to understand why sandalwood was chosen to play this important role, it is essential to closely examine the nature of sandalwood—its associations and inherent properties. Sandalwood (*Santalum album*) is called Sandal or Chandan in India and the Japanese term *sendan* (栴檀) is a combined form of the two and has the same meaning as *byakudan* (白檀). The original area of its growth was in southern India and the eastern part of Indonesia on the small Sunda islands from Java to Timor. Today, it still grows in

¹ For a full account of the legend, see Alexander C. Soper, *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1959), pp. 259-65; *Zōitsu agon-kyō*, chapter 28, in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*, eds. Takakusu Junjirō and Watanabe Hajime (Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, 1922-33), vol. 2, pp. 705b-708b.

² It is interesting to point out, that in the same legend King Prasenajit of Kosala on hearing of King Udayana's sandalwood image, had a sculpture of the same height made out of gold. However, this part of the legend associated with the gold image never gained the same popularity as the sandalwood image and gradually faded into oblivion, whilst the legend of the sandalwood image became popular throughout Asia. See Soper, *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China*, pp. 259-60.

southern India, Malaysia and Java, which are all areas of high humidity and rain. The sandalwood tree is a tropical, half-parasitic, evergreen tree, which grows to a maximum height of 10 meters and a maximum diameter of 60 cm. The bark colour is reddish-brown or greyish-black and it is an opposite-leaved tree. Neither the leaves, flowers nor branches emit any fragrance and it is only the white, red or yellow coloured heartwood, that emits a strong fragrance, particularly near the root. In India, once the tree is cut, the bark is removed and the trunk is cut into pieces of 50 to 60 cm, which are buried in dry earth for about two month, so that the white ants can eat the outer part of the trunk, which has hardly any fragrance and is therefore not desirable as a material. Afterwards, the pieces of trunk are taken out, cleaned and the precious heartwood is cut up and used according to the quality of the different parts.³ The closer to the core of the heartwood the darker the material and the stronger the fragrance, which is particularly strong near the root and therefore highly valued.

Yellow sandalwood (J: *kōdan*; 黄檀) refers to the heartwood close to the root, which is particularly appreciated for its yellow colour, strong fragrance and fine textured, dense material, whilst the sapwood towards the branches of the tree is white with less fragrance and less desirable as a material for sculpture making. However, both come from the same sandalwood tree (J: *byakudan*), but only refer to different parts of the tree. Apart from yellow and white sandalwood, a third type is known as purple or red sandalwood. One of the terms applied to red sandalwood by Inoue Katsutoshi and Suzuki Yoshihiro is *shitan* (紫檀).³ However, Inoue Tadashi has questioned whether to refer to red sandalwood as

³ Inoue Katsutoshi, "Danzōkō: Heian shoki chōkokushi e no joshō," *Bunka shigaku*, no. 37 (November 1981), pp. 2-4; Suzuki Yoshihiro, "Danzō no gainen to hakuboku no igi," in *Nihon bijutsu zenshū*, vol. 5, *Mikkyō jūin to chōkoku: Heian no kenchiku, chōkoku 1*, eds. Mizuno Keizaburō et al. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1994), pp. 173-74.

shitan is, in fact, correct. According to Inoue the *Yamatohonzōhisei* (大和本草批註; *Correction of the Yamatohonzō*), an encyclopaedia of medicinal plants and other materials, criticizes that the *shitan* famous for the material of precious crafts objects is a completely different wood and is, in fact, only called red sandalwood, but corresponds to the heartwood of Indian rosewood, which grows in southern India and Ceylon and corresponds to *shitan* (*Pterocarpus santalinus*). Unlike red sandalwood, this material has no fragrance and the young wood has a strong reddish colour, which in the older wood turns into purple.⁴

However, all three scholars agree on the term *shaku sendan* (赤梅檀) for red sandalwood, which is the same sandalwood tree (J: *byakudan*) as mentioned earlier, with the only difference that the heartwood is of red colour and is highly regarded as a material for sculpture making. *Shaku sendan* mainly grows in southern India near Mount Malaya (J: Gozusan; 牛頭山), hence its other name *gozu sendan*. *Kōdan* was mainly produced in the Sunda islands of Indonesia and imported to India to meet the strong demand for sandalwood there.⁵ It is an interesting point that India, which was one of the main areas of growth of the sandalwood tree had to import additional material, since the indigenous demand for sandalwood far outstripped supply.

Sandalwood was also used as a precious medicine in ancient India. It was ground and its powder mixed with water to form a paste, which was applied as a cure for erysipelas. The same paste was also applied to the temples to alleviate headaches and to the affected parts in case of inflammatory skin diseases to alleviate fever. It was further used to

⁴ Inoue Tadashi, “Kanbodai-ji Jūichimen Kannon ryūzō ni tsuite: danzōkei chōkoku no shosō 2,” *Gakusō*, no. 5 (1983), p. 17.

⁵ Inoue, “Kanbodai-ji Jūichimen Kannon,” p. 17.

accelerate sweating in the case of malaria. When it was distilled into oil, it was applied as an effective cure against gonorrhea.⁶ This clearly illustrates that sandalwood was regarded as a highly effective medicine for the cure of a range of illnesses and this is further illustrated in this passage from the *Gandha-vyūha Sūtra*:

There is a sandalwood treasure known as white sandalwood, which, when applied to the body, allays all forms of fever and gives coolness to all asylum. In like manner the white sandalwood of the *bodhicitta* cools off the fever of the passions, speculations, greed, anger and folly and gives happiness to the asylum of supreme knowledge.⁷

The first part of the passage acknowledges the curative effects of sandalwood as a medicine for physical illnesses, particularly fever. However, in the second part the white sandalwood, which is said to come from the *bodhicitta*, the *bodhi* mind, is credited with the power to bring balance and health to a sick mind by cooling off “the fever of the passions, speculations, greed, anger and folly.”

It is significant that in this passage white sandalwood is associated with the *bodhicitta*, which is the enlightened mind of the historical Buddha and reflects the sacredness and status given to sandalwood in the Buddhist world. Therefore, sandalwood was not only regarded as a medicine for physical but also spiritual ailments, which turned it into a material of almost magical properties. It was these magical, healing properties of sandalwood, that could cure both body and mind and therefore, treated the whole person together with its physical qualities as a material such as the beauty of its yellow (*kōdan*) or red (*shaku sendan*) colour, and the lustre of its polished surface, that made it the supreme choice of the sculptor as a material for the making of the most sacred of Buddhist images. The hardness and fine-texture of sandalwood are suitable for the most

⁶ Inoue, “Danjiki no igi,” p. 29.

⁷ Daisetz T. Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, vol. 3 (London, 1953), p. 182.

intricate carving and being a fine-textured wood, the polished surface shows an unusually beautiful lustre. Furthermore, its strong, sweet fragrance, which appeals to the olfactory sense, creates a sense of bliss and well-being, that can be further associated with its healing properties and was certainly another important factor why sandalwood was chosen as the ideal material for the making of Buddhist images.

Therefore, apart from the earlier mentioned *Zōitsu agon-kyō*, which recounts the making of the first Buddha image out of sandalwood by King Udayana, all four translations of the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra* (Sk: *Ekādasamukha-dhārani-sūtra*; C: *Shiyimian Guanshiyin Shenzhou jing*; J: *Jūichimen Kanzeon shinju-kyō*; 十一面觀世音神呪經) stipulate that sandalwood must be used when making an image of this deity:

- 1) The *Shiyimian Guanshiyin Shenzhou jing* (十一面觀世音神呪經), the earliest translation of this sūtra into Chinese done by the Indian monk Yasogupta around 570.⁸
- 2) The *Shiyimian Guanshiyin Shenzhou jing* (十一面觀世音神呪經), translated in 654 by the Indian monk Atigupta.⁹
- 3) The *Shiyimian Shenzhou jing* (十一面神呪經), translated in 656 by the Chinese pilgrim monk Xuanzang and closely based on Yasogupta's translation in terms of style and content.¹⁰
- 4) The *Shiyimian Guanzizai Pusa Xinmiyan Yigui jing* (十一面觀自在菩薩心密言儀軌經), an anonymous translation done in the 750s.¹¹

Yasogupta's translation states:

Good men and women should make an image of Avalokiteśvara from sandalwood (*byakudan*). The wood must be fine-grained and not dry or coarse. The height must be one *shaku* and three *sun* with eleven faces.¹²

⁸ Daizōkyō, vol. 20, pp. 149a-152a.

⁹ Daizōkyō, vol. 17, pp. 152a-154c.

¹⁰ Daizōkyō, vol. 20, pp. 152a-154c.

¹¹ Daizōkyō, vol. 20, pp. 139c-150a.

¹² Mochizuki, Shinkō, ed., *Bukkyō Daijiten*, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Bukkyō daijiten hakkōsho, 1936), pp. 2206-2207a.

The passage clearly stipulates that sandalwood must be used. However, the fact that the quality of the material is further specified as “fine-grained and not dry or coarse” shows the detailed concern for the material used, which had to be only of the highest quality.

The height given of one *shaku* (尺; C: *chi*) and three *sun* (寸; C: *cun*) corresponds to about 40 cm and is the same height as given in the anonymous translation done in the 750s.¹³ Atigupta’s translation gives this measurement as one *zhou* (肘), which is about 40.5 to 50.5 cm. Xuanzang gives *icchakushuhan* (一櫟手半; C: *yixie shouban*) as the proper height, with one *chaku* being the open hand from the thumb to the stretched middle finger—approximately 25 cm—about 37.5 cm. It is clear that the small size of the sculptures was a natural restriction due to the preciousness of sandalwood. As pointed out earlier, the sandalwood tree only reaches a maximum of 60 cm in diameter and considering that only the heartwood is suitable for sculpture making, the blocks available to sculptor must have been of a dimension that allowed the carving of sculptures of about the height given in the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra*. Therefore, according to this sūtra the defining characteristics of sandalwood sculptures is the use of the highest quality of sandalwood and their small size. The small size, although certainly due to the natural restrictions imposed by the small logs of heartwood of the sandalwood tree, may also have become indicative of the preciousness of the material used and thus became a characteristic of sandalwood sculpture.

Four small size sandalwood sculptures, besides two gold and one silver sculpture, were amongst the seven Buddha images brought back to China by the Chinese pilgrim-

¹³ One *shaku* is the equivalent of 30.303 cm; one *sun* is the equivalent of 3.030 cm.

monk, Xuanzang(玄奘 ; J: Genjō; 600-664) from his seventeen year journey to India and Central Asia (628-645). They are recorded in his diary, the *Da Tang Xiyouji* (大唐西域記; J: *Daitōsaiiki-ki*) as follows:

1. A sandalwood sculpture copying the sculpture of Śākyamuni Buddha giving his first sermon at Sarnath in Varanasi.
3 *shaku 5 sun* (approximately 106.05 cm.) in height, including mandorla and pedestal.
2. A sandalwood sculpture copying the image commissioned by King Udayana when he was longing to see Śākyamuni Buddha.
2 *shaku 9 sun* (approximately 87.87 cm.) in height, including mandorla and pedestal.
3. A sandalwood sculpture copying the sculpture, which resembles Śākyamuni Buddha's shadow left in the cave at Nagarahara.
1 *shaku 5 sun* (approximately 45.45 cm.) in height, including mandorla and pedestal.
4. A sandalwood sculpture copying the sculpture of Śākyamuni Buddha making his daily rounds at Vaishali.
Height is unknown.¹⁴

Unfortunately, none of these sculptures still exist today. Nevertheless, the above record is an extremely valuable document, giving an insight into the use of sandalwood for sacred sculptures in India during the first half of the 7th century. Since the sculptures range in height from approximately 45.45 cm to 106.05 cm, including the mandorla and pedestal, one can assume that the largest sculpture itself was approximately 65 to 75 cm in height, which makes it very likely that all of these sculptures were made out of real sandalwood. All of the images are copies of statues depicting the life of Śākyamuni Buddha and some of them might have been copies of famous images at the time. One can assume, that Xuanzang was concerned only to bring copies of the most famous and sacred images back to China, and might have specifically

¹⁴ *Daizōkyō*, vol. 50, pp. 252b-253a.

commissioned some of them. The fact that four out of seven sculptures were made out of sandalwood reflects not only the popularity of sandalwood images in India at that time, but also Xuanzang's deep admiration for sandalwood images. His strong interest in sandalwood is further illustrated in his *Da Tang Xiyouji*, where he records, a Maitreya Bodhisattva; a Buddha at Pima said to be the image commissioned by King Udayana and a chair made by a Brāhman with the four feet carved in the shape of Maheshvaradeva, Vasudeva, Narayanadeva and Buddhalokanatha as having been made out of sandalwood.¹⁵ More importantly, he gives a detailed account of the growth of the sandalwood and chandaneva tree, which is very similar to the sandalwood tree and as he points out very difficult to distinguish from it, in the Malaya mountains of southern India. He describes that to the east of the Malaya mountains, Mount Potalaka is located where Avalokiteśvara resides.¹⁶ The fact that the dwelling place of Avalokiteśvara located in the area of the Malaya mountains, which was famous as a place for sandalwood trees, can be linked to the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra*, which specifies to use sandalwood when making an image of Avalokiteśvara, has been pointed out by Inoue Katsutoshi.¹⁷

From the above evidence, one can see Xuanzang's deep appreciation of sandalwood as a holy material for sculpture making and the important role he played in the transmission of the tradition of sandalwood sculpture making to China. One can assume that the sandalwood images brought back by Xuanzang from India, were deeply admired in China, not least for their exotic and fragrant material, which is not indigenous to China and therefore became closely associated with India as the birthplace of the historical

¹⁵ Samuel Beal, trans., *Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1906), vol. 2, pp. 254, 322, 263.

¹⁶ Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. 2, pp. 232-33.

¹⁷ Inoue, "Danzōkō," pp. 3-4.

Buddha and the very essence of the Buddhist Law itself.

There is a large number of Chinese documents, which record *danzō*, that have been carefully examined by Inoue Katsutoshi based on the research by Omura Seigai.¹⁸ One of his main conclusions of the examination of these documents is the fact, that prior to a document dated 618, all *danzō*, with one exception, are recorded as made out of *sendan* and *shitan*, whilst after a document dated 661, the use of *byakudan* increases. Inoue argues that due to Xuanzang's translation of the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra* in 656, there was an increase in popularity of Kannon worship and an increased awareness of *byakudan* as a material. This, he explains, is the reason, why most *danzō* prior to the date of Xuanzang's translation were made out of *sendan* and *shitan* and after that, *byakudan* became the most widely used material for *danzō*.¹⁹ However, Matsuura Masaaki has pointed out that *sendan* is a term closer to the original Indian term for sandalwood, whilst *byakudan* is the Chinese term, which started in China. The change of the term from *sendan* to *byakudan* occurred around the time, when Xuanzang was writing his *Da Tang Xiyou-ji* and the term *byakudan* had replaced *sendan* by the middle of the Tang dynasty (618-906).²⁰ Therefore, I would argue that unlike Inoue's explanation, it was not the material itself that changed from *sendan* to *byakudan*, but only the term recorded in these documents. It is further important to point out that in any case *sendan* and *byakudan* are only two different terms referring to exactly the same material.

However, it is interesting to note that many of the Chinese documents record *danzō* as having been commissioned by emperors and having been received as tribute by

¹⁸ Inoue, "Danzōkō," pp. 4-5, particularly the list of documents on p. 5; Ōmura Seigai, *Shina bijutsushi chōsohen*, vols. 1-2 (Tokyo: Bussho kankōkai zuzōbu, 1916; reprint, Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1972).

¹⁹ Inoue, "Danzōkō," pp. 6-7

²⁰ Matsuura Masaaki, "Danzō: byakudanbutsu kara Nihon no mokuchō butsu e," in *Danzō: byakudanbutsu kara Nihon no mokuchō butsu e* (Nara: Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 1991), p. 4.

emperors.²¹ This shows the esteem in which *danzō* were held in China and that they were regarded as religious sculptures of the highest order, that were worthy of being commissioned or received even by emperors.

2. The Transmission of *Danzō* to Japan

The transmission of the tradition of sandalwood sculptures to Japan seems to have occurred sometime between the late 6th to the late 7th century and was firmly established by the second half of the 8th century. The earliest document, which records sandalwood in Japan is an entry in the *Fusō ryakki* (扶桑略記), in an article dated to the third year of *Suiko* (推古; 595). It records that a log of sandalwood (*sendan*) of a length of eight *shaku* was washed ashore on the south coast of Awaji Island (淡路島). The inhabitants of the island, ignorant of the preciousness of the wood, wanted to use it as firewood. However Shōtoku Taishi (聖徳太子; ca. 574-622) recognized it as the fragrant *sendan*, which grew in India and ordered a sculptor from the Korean kingdom of Paekche to carve a *danzō* sculpture of Kannon several *shaku* in height. He then placed it in the Hiso-ji (比蘇寺) in Yoshino (吉野), where it was reported as radiating a miraculous light.²²

This story certainly contains a strong legendary element and its historical accuracy has to be questioned. Nevertheless, it is significant in the sense that it associates Shōtoku

²¹ Inoue, “Danzōkō,” p. 5.

²² *Fusō ryakki*, Kokushi taikēi, ed. Kuroita Katsumi, in Shintei zōho kokushi taikēi, vol. 12, (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1931), chapter 3; Kuno Takeshi, “Danzō chōkoku no tenkai,” *Bukkyō geijutsu*, no. 43 (July 1960), pp. 31-32.

Taishi, who was one of the earliest and most ardent supporters of Buddhism in Japan with the making of *danzō*. Furthermore, it shows the knowledge of India as the source of sandalwood. The fact, that it was miraculously washed ashore enforces the idea of a sacred wood, which came from an exotic, far-away land across the ocean to Japan and added to the mystery of the fragrance and other curative properties of sandalwood.

Another early record of a *danzō* is in the *Tōnomine ryakki* (多武峯略記), which mentions a seated *byakudan* Nyoirin Kannon (如意輪観音) of three *shaku* in height, which was found floating in the sea by the monk Jōe (定慧; d. 711) on his way back from Tang China to Japan in 678.²³ Again the historical reliability of this document has been questioned, but it nevertheless serves to further deepen the impression of the earlier article in the *Fusō ryakki*, that sandalwood and thus sandalwood sculptures were perceived in Japan as having magical properties.²⁴

However, two logs of sandalwood preserved amongst the Hōryū-ji (法隆寺) treasures, now in the Tōkyō National Museum and bearing an ink inscription dating them to the year 761, are evidence that logs of sandalwood were imported to Japan from as early as the 8th century. One log is 66.4 cm. long and 13 cm in diameter, whilst the other one is 60.3 cm long and 9 cm in diameter. Both logs have an incised inscription in Pahlavi and a brand in Sogdian characters, as well as an ink inscription dating them to 761.²⁵

Kumamoto Hiroshi has suggested, that the inscription in Pahlavi gives the name of the

²³ *Tōnomine ryakki*, in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho, jishi sōsho*, vol. 2, ed. Busshō kankōkai (Tokyo, 1913), p. 501; Kuno, “*Danzō chōkoku*,” p. 32.

²⁴ Both Kuno Takeshi and Samuel Morse have questioned the historical accuracy of this document as well as the above cited story in the *Fusō ryakki*, see Kuno, “*Danzō chōkoku*,” pp. 31-32; and Samuel Morse, “The Formation of the Plain-Wood Style and the Development of Japanese Buddhist Sculpture: 760-840,” Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1985, pp. 183-84.

²⁵ See Tokyo kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Hōryū-ji kennō hōmotsu* (Tokyo: Tokyo kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 1996), p. 52.

owner of the sandalwood, which further illustrates how much sandalwood was treasured as a precious aromatic wood.²⁶ According to Yoshida Yutaka, the Sogdian brand either represents the weight or the price of the sandalwood.²⁷ Furthermore, Tōno Haruyuki's research suggests that the two pieces of sandalwood were imported from tropical Asia, their original place of production, to China either by land across Central Asia or by sea, with Persian and Sogdian merchants, who were active in the transit trade at the time, acting as intermediaries.²⁸ The two logs of sandalwood must then have been imported from China to Japan. The fact that sandalwood was imported to Japan from China is further substantiated by the fact, that the *Shinsarugakuki* (新猿樂記; ca. 1058-1065) lists sandalwood amongst objects from China (J: *karamono*; 唐物).²⁹ The two logs of sandalwood further illustrate, that due to the preciousness of the heartwood, the size of the logs was small and only allowed the carving of small sculptures of a height that would be roughly in accordance with the stipulations set out in the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra*.

The Kumen Kannon of Hōryū-ji (pl. 34) can be regarded as the earliest imported and recorded *danzō*, which still exists today. Most scholars agree, that the Kumen Kannon of Hōryū-ji, is the very Kumen Kannon mentioned in the *Hōryū-ji garan engi narabini ruki shizaichō* (法隆寺伽藍縁起并流記資財帳), which was compiled in 747.

The temple inventory states that the sculpture was brought from Tang China in the

²⁶ Kumamoto Hiroshi, "Pahlavi kokumei ni tsuite," *Museum*, no. 433 (April 1987), pp. 16-17.

²⁷ Yoshida, Yutaka, "Sogudo-go no yakiin ni tsuite," *Museum*, no. 433 (April 1987), pp. 17-18.

²⁸ For a detailed discussion of the possible trade routes used for the transport of these two logs of sandalwood, see Tōno Haruyuki, "Hōryū-ji kennō hōmotsu kōboku no meibun to kodai no kōryō bōeki: Tokuni Pafuravi moji no kokumei to sokudo moji no yakiin o megutte," *Museum*, no. 433 (April 1987), pp. 4-16.

²⁹ See Suzuki, Yoshihiro, "Hakubokuzō to danzō chōkoku," *Bijutsushin*, no. 107 (November 1979), p. 20; *Shinsarugakuki*, Tōyōbunko 424, ed. Kawaguchi Hisao (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1983), p. 279.

third year of Yōrō, 719.³⁰ One can therefore assume that from at least the year 719, if not earlier, actual *danzō* were known in Japan. It is an interesting fact to note that actual examples of *danzō* seem to have reached Japan earlier than copies of the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra*, which sets out the making of *danzō*. It was not until 733 that Xuanzang's translation and not until 738 that Yasogupta's translation of the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra* was recorded in Heijōkyō, the capital of the Nara period.³¹ Another surviving record, mentioning a *danzō* Kanzeon Bosatsu used in a rite of repentance (*Keka*; 悔過) in 741, is recorded in the *Amida kekaryō shizaichō* (阿弥陀悔過料資財帳).³²

From the above evidence, one can conclude, that by the middle of the 8th century imported Chinese *danzō* and two versions of the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra*, which provided the textual basis for the making of small sandalwood sculptures, were known in Japan. Therefore, a good foundation of the tradition of making sandalwood sculptures had been laid in Japan, when the eminent monk Ganjin (鑑真; 688-763), a master of the Ritsu sect (律), arrived in 754, to which he added further impetus. Ganjin seems to have had a strong interest in sandalwood sculpture and according to the *Tōdaiwajō tōseiden* (唐大和上東征伝), brought a sandalwood (*byakusendan*) sculpture of a Thousand-armed Kannon (Senju Kannon; 千手観音) with him.³³

According to an article in the *Shōdai senzai denki* (招堤千歳伝記), this image was

³⁰ See Takeuchi Rizō, ed., *Nara ibun*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō, 1962), pp. 344-64; and Kuno, "Danzō chōkoku," p. 32; for a discussion of the different theories regarding the relationship between the Kumen Kannon sculpture and the entry in the text, see Uehara Shōichi, "Kannon bosatsu (Kumen Kannon)," in *Nara rokudaiji taikan*, eds. Ota Hakutarō et al., vol. 4, Hōryū-ji 4, p. 60.

³¹ Ishida Mosaku, *Shakyō yori mitaru Nara-chō bukkyō no kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1930; reprint, Tokyo: Hara shobō, 1982), pp. 84, 89.

³² *Dai Nihon komonjo*, vol. 5, ed. Tōkyō teikoku daigaku bunka daigaku shiryō hensanjo (Tokyo: Fuzanbō, 1901), p. 671; Morse, "The Formation of the Plain-Wood Style," p. 187.

³³ *Tō Daiwajō Tōsei-den*, in *Zoku gunsho ruiju* (Tokyo: Zoku gunsho ruiju kansei kai, 1927), vol. 69, pp. 510-527; Kuno, "Danzō chōkoku," p. 32.

1 *shaku* and 8 *sun* (approximately 54.54 cm) in height, which was a small sculpture and seems to have been close to the height specified in the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra*.³⁴ One can surmise that Ganjin brought only his most treasured and important possessions to Japan, and that this *danzō* of Senju Kannon was amongst them, suggests that it functioned as Ganjin's personal devotional icon (J: *nenji butsu*).

Furthermore, it is an important fact, that amongst the craftsmen accompanying Ganjin to Japan, the *Tōdaiwajo tōseiden* records *chōdan* (彫檀), or sculptors, who specialised in the carving of sandalwood sculptures much in the same way there were artisans, who specialised in the carving of jade.³⁵ This suggests, that the carving of sandalwood sculpture required special skills that in Tang China, had only been mastered by *chōdan*. There is no evidence of *chōdan* in Japan and *danzō* appear to have been carved by exceptionally skilled Buddhist sculptors (*bussshi*; 仏師), particularly during the Fujiwara and Kamakura periods.

In this context, I would like to discuss the special technique required for the carving of sandalwood. Any sculptural technique is determined by the natural restrictions and inherent possibilities of the material. As mentioned earlier, sandalwood is a fine-textured, extremely hard wood, that when polished displays a beautiful lustre. Since only the heartwood is suitable and desirable as a material for sculpture making, the actual logs that can be used are of rather small size. The hard and fine-textured properties of sandalwood lend themselves to the most intricate carving and the small size of the material available forces the sculptor to display his skills on a very small surface volume, in order to make the most out of the small amount of material available to him.

³⁴ Kuno, "Danzō chōkoku," p. 32.

³⁵ Suzuki, "Danzō no gainen," p. 173.

Furthermore, the fact that sandalwood was regarded as the most precious of woods as a material for the making of Buddhist sculptures (*misogi*; 御衣木), and was believed to possess magical properties, meant that the skill of the sculptor had to match the preciousness and sacredness of the material. Therefore, as can be especially seen in the Kumen Kannon of Hōryū-ji (pl. 34) and the *makura honzon* (枕本尊) (pl. 7) at the Kōngōbu-ji (金剛峯寺) in Wakayama, the inherent qualities of sandalwood allowed the sculptor extremely sharp cutting, a great variation in the depth of carving as well as an extremely rich and varied surface texture. It further allowed him the sharp carving of even the most minute details, which expressed a skill so accomplished and a technique so advanced, not to be found on any other Buddhist sculpture.

Inoue Katsutoshi, expanding on Nishikawa Shinji's research, has suggested that there is a correlation between the technique used for Tang dynasty marble sculpture and the technique used for Chinese *danzō*.³⁶ However, Matsubara Saburō has argued that the technique of wood sculpture can be understood in terms of the technique of Tang dynasty stone sculpture, but he insists, that the technique of *danzō* has to be considered separately, both from the technique of stone and wood sculpture, and has to be understood as an entirely separate phenomenon.³⁷ Judging from the singularly unique technique seen in the surviving examples of Chinese *danzō* and the above mentioned recording of specialised sandalwood carvers (*chōdan*) in Ganjin's *Tōdaiwajō tōseiden*, Matsubara's argument is most convincing. It was certainly the most accomplished technique combined with the healing and magical properties ascribed to sandalwood, that

³⁶ See Inoue, "Danzōkō," pp. 13-15; for Nishikawa's research on that matter, see Nishikawa Shinji, "Ganjin to mokuchōgun," in *Tōshōdai-ji: Ganjin to mokuchōgun*, Iwanami shoten, ed., Nara no tera, vol. 19 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1975), pp. 1-16.

³⁷ Inoue, "Danzōkō," p. 13; for a more detailed account of Matsubara's ideas, see Matsubara Saburō, *Chūgoku bukkyō chōkoku shiron*, vol. Text (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kobunkan, 1995), pp. 172 and 188.

made *danzō* into Buddhist sculptures of an artistic refinement and a spiritual efficacy, that cannot be seen in any other Buddhist sculptures and which places them into a category of their own.

How much sandalwood was treasured as the highest category of wood for the making of Buddhist images (*misogi*) in Japan and how it was therefore, only entrusted to the most skilled of sculptors for the making of images of special efficacy can be seen in a much later document dated to the Kamakura period. The *Inokuma Kanpakuki* (猪隈関白記) states in an article on the sixteenth day of the tenth month of Kennin 2 (1202) that *busshi* Unkei (運慶; d. 1223) carved a sculpture of Fugen Bosatsu (普賢菩薩) out of a piece of *byakudan*, which had been in the possession of Fujiwara no Morozane (藤原師実; 1042-1101).³⁸ It is interesting to note that this *danzō* was carved over one hundred years after Fujiwara Morozane's death. This suggests that logs of sandalwood similar to the ones still extant amongst the Hōryū-ji treasure must have been greatly treasured and handed down over generations, until an appropriate occasion arose to commission a *danzō* and to entrust the sacred and precious material to a master sculptor such as Unkei, who was one of the greatest sculptors of the Kamakura period. This illustrates that even as late as the Kamakura period, *danzō* making was regarded as requiring the highest level of skill, which could only be expected from a master sculptor.

From the evidence presented so far one can see, that by the year 761, sandalwood logs had been imported to Japan and were regarded as a sacred wood with magical properties; the textual basis for the making of *danzō* in the form of Xuanzang's and Yasogupta's translation of the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra* had been transmitted and I would like to

³⁸ *Inokuma kanpakuki*, 3, in Dai Nihon Kokiroku, ed. Tokyo Daigaku shiryō hensanjo (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1977); Suzuki, "Hakubokuzō," p. 20.

add Xuanzang's earlier mentioned *Da Tang Xiyouji* (J: *Daito saiiki-ki*), which contains detailed accounts of sandalwood as a material and sandalwood sculptures, which had been transmitted by 738;³⁹ actual examples of Chinese *danzō* such as the Kumen Kannon of Hōryū-ji and the *byakusendan* Senju Kannon brought by Ganjin had been imported; and most importantly *chōdan*, who possessed the specialised skill and were trained in the special carving technique of *danzō* had arrived in Japan with Ganjin and had the ability to train Japanese sculptors in this special technique.

Therefore, it becomes clear, that by the year 761 at the latest, all the important elements of the tradition of sandalwood sculpture making, such as the material of sandalwood, actual examples of *danzō*, the textual basis for the making of *danzō* in the form of the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra*, and the special technique of *danzō* carving, had all been transmitted from China to Japan. In this sense, the foundation for the making of *danzō* had been laid in Japan and the Japanese sculptor could now begin to establish an indigenous *danzō* tradition.

³⁹ Ishida, *Shakyō yori*, p. 145.

2. Substitute Materials

From the above discussion of the significance of sandalwood in the Buddhist world, it became clear, that sandalwood was chosen as the highest category of wood as a material for the making of Buddhist images (*misogi*), due to its inherent medical properties and ascribed spiritual efficacy. In this sense, sandalwood was only used for the making of the most sacred images and due to its inherent properties, imbued those images with a special sanctity and efficacy, that placed them into a category of religious images of their own.

However, the greatest disadvantage of sandalwood as a material was its preciousness and scarcity. Since it only grew in India and certain parts of South-East Asia and was neither indigenous to China nor Japan, it was difficult and costly to obtain in these countries. This presented a considerable obstacle for the establishment of an indigenous tradition of *danzō* making in both China and Japan, which had to be overcome.

The textual solution to this problem was given by the Chinese monk Huizhao (慧沼; 650-714) in his commentary on the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra*, the *Shiyimian Shen zhou yishu* (J: *Jūichimen shinju gisho*; 十一面神呪義疏), which was already known in Japan in Tenpyō 15 (743).⁴⁰ It acknowledges the fact that sandalwood may be extremely difficult to obtain in some countries and provides the following solution of using a substitute material:

Question: If you are in a country that has no sandalwood (*byakudan*) what kind of wood can one use to make an image?

Answer: You should try to find white sandalwood (*byakudan*) by all means.

However, if it is unavailable you can substitute *bai* wood (J: *hakuboku*, 柏木) for sandalwood (*byakudan*).⁴¹

⁴⁰ Ishida, *Shakyō yori*, p. 71.

⁴¹ Inoue, "Danzōkō," pp. 16-17.

This passage comes in direct response to the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra*, which states that only the highest quality of *byakudan* should be used, when making an image of Kannon. It authorises the use of *hakuboku*, if *byakudan* is not available at all and thus opens up the possibility of making *danzō* out of a substitute material, without losing the spiritual efficacy ascribed to *danzō*. In this way, the textual basis was given for the development of an indigenous *danzō* tradition in China and Japan, which lacked the natural resources of sandalwood and thus mostly had to use *hakuboku* as a substitute material for the making of *danzō*. Since *hakuboku* is specifically mentioned in Huizhao's commentary as a substitute material for *byakudan*, it is important to clarify what kind of wood was meant by this term in both China and Japan, and why it was specifically chosen.

In China, *hakuboku* had been appreciated as a precious, fragrant wood since the Spring and Autumn period (722- 481 B.C.) of the Eastern Zhou dynasty. It was particularly used for buildings in the imperial palace such as the *Bailiangtai* (柏梁台) and for the interior walls of imperial tombs. Walls of this type are known as *huang chang ti zou* (黃腸題湊) and can be found at the Muguo fen tumuli, which contained the remains of King Liu Dan (d. 80 B.C.) and his wife Hua Rong excavated at Dabaotai on the southern outskirts of Beijing. It shows the highest level of tomb construction, which was only permitted to members of the imperial family, in which the interior walls were panelled with squares only made out of the yellow heartwood of *hakuboku*, which would fill the room with an intense fragrance, where the dead were placed.⁴² There is further evidence that *hakuboku* was regarded as a material that possessed magical properties to

⁴² For a detailed discussion of *hakuboku* in China, see Inoue, "Danjiki no igi," pp. 30-31; and Inoue Tadashi, *Danzō, Nihon no bijutsu*, no. 253 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1987), pp. 26-27.

keep away evil spirits and was therefore used for coffins and its trees were planted in cemeteries.⁴³

Therefore, *hakuboku* in China was a precious, aromatic wood in its own right with certain spiritual properties similar to sandalwood in India. This shows that, as Inoue Tadashi has pointed out, *hakuboku* was highly regarded as a precious, aromatic wood in China and had established its own tradition, even before its association with Buddhism.⁴⁴ The fact that it was so highly respected and appreciated in China can be seen as one of the reasons why it was chosen as a suitable substitute material for sandalwood, which was regarded as the most precious of all aromatic woods. Furthermore, its yellow colour and strong fragrance resembled sandalwood and therefore, made it an even more ideal substitute material. I would like to add that the above connotations of *hakuboku* as a wood with magical properties that could keep away evil spirits must have been another important factor in its choice as a substitute material for sandalwood.

Inoue Katsutoshi, Inoue Tadashi and Suzuki Yoshihiro agree that the term *hakuboku* in China refers to the wood of trees of the *hinoki* family (*Cupressus funebris* Endl).⁴⁵ Suzuki Yoshihiro further elaborates, that the term *hakuboku* in China is a general term for a number of evergreen trees of the *hinoki* family such as *konote-gashiwa* (側柏; *Quercus dentata*), *hinoki* (扁柏; *Cupressus funebris* Endl), *byakushin* (柏槭; *Juniperus chinensis*) and is called *shōhaku* (松柏). Therefore, according to Suzuki, *hakuboku* is a general

⁴³ Kaneko Hiroaki et al. quote a Tang dynasty compilation, that relates two stories of a monster and a wild animal, that like to eat the deceased person's liver and brain respectively. However, the monster is afraid of *hakuboku*, whilst the wild animal can be killed by squeezing its head with *hakuboku*. See Kaneko Hiroaki, et al., "Nihon kodai ni okeru mokuchōzō no jushu to yōzaikan: 7,8 seiki o chūshinni," *Museum*, no. 555 (August, 1999), p. 18.

⁴⁴ Inoue, *Danzō*, pp. 26-27.

⁴⁵ Inoue, "Danzōkō," p. 17; Inoue, "Kanbodai-ji Jūichimen Kannon," pp. 15-16; Inoue in this article corrects his mistake of having assumed that *hakuboku* in China meant *kaya* in his earlier article "Danjiki no igi," although even in this article the Latin term of *Cupressus funebris* Endl was correctly given, which however, in China is *hinoki*. See Suzuki, "Danzō no gainen," pp. 174-75.

term for a large number of trees of the *hinoki* family and does not denote a particular tree.⁴⁶

The meaning of the term *hakuboku* in Japan is more controversial. At the heart of this controversy lies the issue whether the two characters for *hakuboku* (柏; 栢), denote the same species of tree in both China and Japan. Inoue Katsutoshi argues that the term *hakuboku* (柏木) in Japan, might have been applied to the *hinoki* tree (榿; *Chamaecyparis obtusa*).⁴⁷

However, as pointed out by Suzuki Yoshihiro, there is considerable textual evidence that the term *hakuboku* (*kashiwagi*) in Japan was applied to *kaya* (榿; *Torreya nucifera*). In the *Gyōrinshō* (行林抄), compiled by Gyōnen (行然) in the mid-12th century, it is recorded that *kashiwa* (*haku*, 柏) could be pronounced in two different ways “kanoha” and “kahe,” but each was a different material. It further records, that it was similar to *byakudan* and was commonly used as a substitute material for *byakudan*.⁴⁸ However, in the *Wanarui jushō* (和名類聚抄), a dictionary of the Heian period, beside the character for *kashiwa* (栢) “kahe” was added in kana. This is one of the two above Chinese pronunciations seen in the *Gyōrinshō* and Suzuki points out, that in dictionaries of the Muromachi period the characters for *kashiwa* (柏; 栢) were both pronounced “*kaya*.” Therefore, the pronunciation of the characters for *kashiwa* changed from “kahe” in the Heian period to “*kaya*” in the Muromachi period. Thus, Suzuki concludes, that

⁴⁶ Suzuki, “Danzō no gainen,” pp. 174-75.

⁴⁷ Inoue, “Danzōkō,” p. 17. This assumption is based on the fact, that *hakuboku* in China denoted trees of the *hinoki* family, however, it is important to point out that the two characters for *hinoki* in China and Japan are entirely different, as well as their Latin name *Cupressus funebris* Endl and *Chamaecyparis obtusa* respectively. As an aside it is interesting to note that Inoue’s hypothesis is constructed to comply with the assumption that the Tōshōdai-ji Kyūkōdō sculptures were made out of *hinoki*. However, recent analysis of wood samples taken from these sculptures has proven conclusively that they were made out of *kaya*. See Kaneko Hiroaki, et al., “Nihon kodai,” pp. 23-30.

⁴⁸ Suzuki, “Hakubokuzō,” pp. 21-22 and p. 23, chart 3; *Daizōkyō*, vol. 76, p. 211.

according to the *Gyōrinshō*, it can be thought to point to the specific wood and one can assume that “kahe” was the old term for *kaya* (*Torreya nucifera*).⁴⁹ In this sense, Suzuki argues convincingly that the term *hakuboku* in Japan, unlike in China where it was a general term for evergreen trees of the *hinoki* family, was specifically applied to *kaya*. He further strengthens his argument and at the same time refutes Inoue Katsutoshi’s theory, that the characters for *kashiwa* were applied in Japan to denote *hinoki*. He argues, that in ancient documents such as the *Izumokoku fudoki* (出雲国風土記), *kashiwa* and *hinoki* were clearly distinguished in several articles and therefore were two different types of wood.⁵⁰ In the entry 22 of *Gumonjitokumyō* (求聞持得名) in *Keiranjūyōshū* (溪嵐拾葉集), compiled by Kōshū (光宗) in the first half of the 14th century, the following characteristics of *hakuboku* are given in the explanation of the *shōgon* of a temple hall:

- 1) Since *haku* is a holy wood (*reiboku*; 霊木) it can be used as a material for sculpture making not limited to specific holy images.
- 2) *Haku* is a yellowish material and it is used because there is no unevenness in colour.
- 3) *Hakuboku* is used as a substitute for *sendan*.⁵¹

The passage clearly states that *hakuboku* was used as a substitute for sandalwood and the even yellow colour, which is also one of the characteristics of yellow sandalwood (*kōdan*) is mentioned here as a reason for its choice as a substitute material. *Kaya*, the Japanese nutmeg (*Torreya nucifera*), is an evergreen tree belonging to the yew (*ichii*, イチイ科) family. Its wood has a distinctive, even yellow colour and emits a sweet fragrance. These inherent characteristics, which are similar to those of sandalwood, add further weight to Suzuki’s theory that *hakuboku* in Japan meant *kaya*. However, one has

⁴⁹ Suzuki, “Hakubokuzō,” pp. 22-23, particularly chart 3.

⁵⁰ Suzuki, “Danzō no gainen,” p. 176.

⁵¹ Suzuki, “Hakubokuzō,” pp. 21-22; *Daizōkyō*, vol. 76, p. 573.

to point out that, as can be seen from the above document and from the evidence of actual surviving sculptures, *hakuboku* (*kaya*) was not only used for *danzō*, but also for other plain-wood sculptures.⁵²

However, Inoue Tadashi, although agreeing with Suzuki Yoshihiro and Inoue Katsutoshi on the point that *hakuboku* in China meant trees of the *hinoki* family, argues that the substitute materials for *byakudan* cannot be thought to have been limited to a particular species of wood. He proposes that substitute materials were much more freely chosen according to regional conditions, the growth of trees and economic conditions at the time of sculpture making. He suggests, that due to the unavailability of desirable substitute materials, in some cases, similar ones may have been used and in that sense a kind of double substitution took place. He identifies *katsura* (桂; *Cercidiphyllum japonicum* Sieb et Zucc.), *haku* (柏; 栢) and *kusu* (樟; *Cinnamomum camphora*) as the major fragrant woods in China and argues that a similarly free selection of aromatic woods as substitute materials for *byakudan* was applied in Japan.⁵³ Inoue agrees with Suzuki that the term *hakuboku* (*kashiwagi*) was applied to *kaya* in Japan and that it was clearly different from the *hakuboku* in China, which refers to trees of the *hinoki* family. He further adds *byakushin* (柏槭; *Juniperus chinensis*) to his list of substitute materials in Japan.

Byakushin is a fragrant wood with a reddish colour and is difficult to distinguish from *hinoki*. According to Inoue, it grows particularly near mountain temples and the monks, due to its fragrance and similarity of its name to *byakudan*, call it *byakudan*.⁵⁴ Inoue

⁵² For an up to date discussion of the use of *kaya* for plain wood sculptures of the 8th and 9th centuries, see Kaneko Hiroaki, et al., "Nihon kodai," pp. 22-32.

⁵³ Inoue, "Kanbodai-ji Jūichimen Kannon," pp. 14-15.

⁵⁴ Inoue, "Kanbodai-ji Jūichimen Kannon," p. 16.

argues persuasively that substitute materials were chosen according to their resemblance to yellow coloured (*kōdan*) and red coloured sandalwood (*shaku sendan*). He therefore proposes that in Japan *kaya* (*Torreya nucifera*), *byakushin* (*Juniperus chinensis*) and *hinoki* (*Chamaecyparis obtusa*) were chosen as substitute materials for *kōdan*; whilst *sakura* (櫻; *Prunus japonicum*) and *katsura* (*Cercidiphyllum japonicum*) were chosen as substitute materials for *shaku sendan*.⁵⁵

Considering the different theories regarding substitute materials for *byakudan*, a passage from Huizhao's *Shiyimian Shenzhou yishu* gives crucial insight into the reality of choosing substitute materials as stipulated in the commentary:

Question: If you are in a country that has no white sandalwood what kind of wood can you use to make the image?

Answer: Certainly you should try to find white sandalwood. However, if it is unavailable you can substitute cypress wood for white sandalwood to make the image. The reason why you should use white sandalwood is that it represents the blessings of Avalokitesvara. Why can't you use cloth to make the image? Other sutras may differ from this one, but in this sutra it says to use wood to make the image. Why must you use flowering Tu-ti wood, or Jen-p'o wood, or Bo wood, or Su-mo wood? We know that in India there are many different kinds of fragrant woods. Thus they have many different kinds of fragrant wood to choose from. Accordingly, if you decide to make an image from fragrant wood you can choose one of these four kinds. If you search for white sandalwood but are unable to find it you can use one of these other varieties. If you wish to burn fragrant woods [as incense] but do not have one of these four woods in your country, then you may use whatever is available. In India they have many kinds of rare fragrant woods, but here in China we do not. Therefore, we do not translate the precise name of the wood, but only its general type.⁵⁶

This passage is of great interest and although the first part which refers to the substitution of *hakuboku* for sandalwood has been frequently quoted by scholars, the remaining passage has been largely ignored and it is this remaining part that puts the first part

⁵⁵ Inoue, "Kanbodai-ji Jūichimen Kannon," pp. 17-18 and the chart of substitute materials for sandalwood in China and Japan in the English summary, p. i.

⁵⁶ Translated by Donald Wood in Donald Wood, "Eleven Faces of the Bodhisattva," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Kansas, 1985, pp. 409-10.

into context. The fact that the passage states, that if none of these four woods are available in a country, one can use whatever other woods are available confirms Inoue Tadashi's theory that the substitute materials for *danzō* were much more freely chosen and not just restricted to *hakuboku*. The statement that "we do not translate the precise name of the wood, but only its general type," confirms Suzuki Yoshihiro's theory, that *hakuboku* in China refers to a general term for evergreen trees of the *hinoki* family and not to a specific tree. As the commentary points out, it was due to the scarcity of aromatic woods in China, that only a general type of wood was indicated, which allowed for greater freedom of choice for substitute materials, whilst still adhering to the stipulations of the text.

Considering the evidence so far, it becomes clear that the making of *danzō* out of substitute materials was born in China and transmitted to Japan. The selection of substitute materials was clearly determined by their similarities to sandalwood in terms of colour, fragrance, texture and suitability for intricate carving as well as their ascribed spiritual and magical properties as in the case of *hakuboku* in China. One can further note that only woods that were regarded as particularly precious and were not used for objects of daily use, were deemed suitable as substitute materials. Looking at the surviving examples of *danzō* and the theories discussed so far, Inoue Tadashi's theory, that substitute materials were much more freely chosen and were not only restricted to *hakuboku* in China and *kaya* in Japan, but also included other materials such as *gishi-ōtō* (李氏櫻桃; *Prunus pseudocerasus*) in China and *sakura* in Japan, is most convincing. However, I would agree with Suzuki Yoshihiro's theory that *kaya* was used as *hakuboku* in Japan and judging from the evidence of surviving *danzō*, *hakuboku* (*kaya*) must have

been the most commonly used substitute material in Japan, which was certainly due to its yellow colour, sweet fragrance, suitability for fine carving and the fact that it was specifically mentioned in Buddhist texts.⁵⁷ Therefore, I would suggest that, although *kaya* was the most commonly used substitute material in Japan, other materials such as *sakura* and occasionally *hinoki* were also used. Judging from the surviving examples of *danzō* in Japan, there is no evidence to support Inoue Tadashi's argument that *byakushin* and *katsura* were also used as substitute materials, although one cannot entirely rule out that they may have been used.

However, the most important point to remember is that all these materials were chosen in regard to their close similarity to *byakudan* and it shows the concern of the sculptor to stay as closely as possible to the sublime material of *byakudan*, which was after all regarded as the ideal material for the making of *danzō*. On the other hand, the fact that suitable substitute materials, that showed strong similarities with sandalwood in terms of their colour, fine texture, suitability for fine carving and even fragrance could be found in Japan, enabled the Japanese sculptor to start an indigenous tradition of *danzō* and still comply with the textual stipulations given in Huizhao's *Shiyimian Shenzhou yishu* from as early as the year 743.

However, it is important to consider whether *danzō* made out of substitute materials were recognised in Japan as being expressive of the concept of *danzō* and as carrying the same spiritual efficacy as *danzō* made out of *byakudan*. According to Mōri Hisashi's definition of *danzō*, the first characteristic of *danzō* is that they are carved out of one block of wood (*ichiboku zukuri*; 一木造) and made out of sandalwood.⁵⁸ Most *danzō* in

⁵⁷ More careful examination of a number of *danzō* in recent years has confirmed, that many examples previously thought to have been made out of *hinoki* are in fact made out of *kaya*, which lends further credibility to the textual evidence that the term *hakuboku* in Japan was applied to *kaya*.

Japan made out of substitute materials are carved in *ichiboku zukuri* and in this sense follow *danzō* made out of sandalwood. However, Mōri analyses a large number of *danzō* made out of substitute materials, calling them *danzō* and trying to define them in terms of style and technique, although according to his first principle—*danzō* being made out of sandalwood—they do not qualify to be called *danzō* in the first place.⁵⁹ Similarly, Inoue Tadashi calls all *danzō* made out of substitute materials “substitute *danzō*” (*daiyō danzō*; 代用檀像), strongly implying that they are to be distinguished from *danzō* made out of *byakudan*.⁶⁰

However, Suzuki Yoshihiro by carefully examining records of the Heian and Kamakura periods, provides evidence that even *danzō* made out of substitute materials were called *danzō* and were clearly recognised as such. One of the entries quoted by Suzuki is from the *Hyakurenshō* (百鍊抄), Ante 1 (1227) shōgatsu (正月), which records the main statue of the imperial *Gosai-e* (御齋会) made by the Buddhist sculptors Inken (院賢) and Inki (院徽) as “*byakudan, hakuboku*.”⁶¹ It is significant that this sculpture, which was obviously made out of *hakuboku* was recognised as a *byakudan* sculpture and was recorded as such. This clearly shows that the method of making sculptures out of *hakuboku* and other substitute materials corresponded to the concept of *danzō* in Japan and was recognised as such. Therefore, in contrast to Inoue’s theory to distinguish *daiyō danzō* from *danzō*, I would argue that *danzō* made out of substitute materials are expressive of the concept of *danzō* and therefore are included in it.

⁵⁸ Mōri Hisashi, “Heian jidai no *danzō* ni tsuite,” reprinted in *Nihon bukkyō chōkokushi no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Hozokan, 1970), p. 138. Mōri’s definition of *danzō* consists of four principles or characteristics.

⁵⁹ For Mōri’s analysis of a number of *danzō*, see Mōri, “Heian jidai,” pp. 138-40 and pp. 143-44.

⁶⁰ Inoue, *Danzō*, pp. 30-38 and pp. 52-75.

⁶¹ *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 5/3, ed. Tokyo teikoku daigaku (Tokyo: Tokyo teikoku daigaku, 1923), p. 634; Suzuki, “*Danzō no gainen*,” pp. 175-76.

It therefore seems to be justifiable to apply the term *danzō* to sculptures made out of sandalwood as well as to those made out of substitute materials. Thus, I would argue that Mōri's first principle of *danzō* has to be extended to sculptures carved in *ichiboku zukuri* and made out of sandalwood or substitute materials, particularly *kaya*, *hinoki*, or *sakura*.

In this context, it is important to pay attention to the terms “*shin danzō*” (真檀像) and “*shin byakudan*,” (真白檀) which appear in records. In volume 6 of the *Chinese Record of high-ranking monks in the Song dynasty* (C: *Song gaoseng chuan*; J: *Sōkōsōden*; 宋高僧伝), it is recorded that “Shiseng Che (釈僧徹) of Da'anguosi (大安国寺) carved one thousand *shin danzō*.”⁶² Mōri Hisashi has interpreted this term “*shin danzō*” as *danzō*, not being made out of real *byakudan*, but out of substitute materials.⁶³ The fact that the record mentions the carving of one thousand sculptures makes it highly unlikely that real *byakudan* was used and Mōri Hisashi's explanation of “*shin danzō*” denoting *danzō* made out of substitute materials seems plausible in this sense. However, the term “*shin danzō*” meaning “real, genuine *danzo*”, seems rather inappropriately chosen to denote *danzō*, which were not made out of real sandalwood, but substitute materials. There appears to be a contradiction between the term itself and Mōri's explanation of it and I think that further research into Chinese records will have to be awaited in order to see, whether this term appears in a context that will clarify its meaning.

Moreover, Suzuki Yoshihiro has pointed out the term “*shin byakudan*”, which appears in records in Japan of the Heian and Kamakura periods. One of the documents, in which the term “*shin byakudan*” was recorded, the *Daigozōjiki* (醍醐雜事記), which is supposed to have been compiled in Bunji 2 (1186), states:

⁶² *Daizōkyō*, vol. 50, p. 745a; Suzuki, “Hakubokuzō,” p. 21.

⁶³ Mōri, “Heian jidai,” p. 135.

One Shaka triad, *icchaku shuhan* [approximately 37.5 cm] in height, *shin byakudan* commissioned by *ajari* Kaishin (阿闍梨懷深).⁶⁴

However, even more interesting is an entry in the first volume of *Butsuzō mokuroku* (仏像目録) in volume five of *Iwashimizu hachimangū shiryōsōsho* (石清水八幡宮史料叢書), compiled in 1237, which states:

A standing *byakudan* Shaka sculpture three *shaku* in height, made by *busshi hokkyō Kōkaku* (仏師法橋幸覚).

A standing *shin byakudan* Shaka sculpture one *shaku* and eight *sun* in height, which had been transmitted from a previous master, restored in Kenchō 6 (1254).⁶⁵

The recording of “*byakudan*” and “*shin byakudan*” in the same historical record is an extremely important point, which one has to examine carefully. It clearly implies, that there must have been a difference in the sculptures referred to by these two different terms. Suzuki Yoshihiro argues that “*shin byakudan*” denotes the real *byakudan*, which because of its rarity and preciousness in Japan might have been recorded in this special way.⁶⁶ However, he points out that in the *Butsuzō mokuroku* the character “shin” (真) is slightly written to the right and stands out of context. He argues, that there is a possibility that the character “shin” might have been added later to the character “*byakudan*”.⁶⁷

However, looking at Suzuki’s explanation of the term “*shin byakudan*” denoting real *byakudan* as opposed to “*byakudan*” denoting sculptures made out of substitute materials, it is interesting to note that in the above *Butsuzō mokuroku*, the *byakudan* Shaka sculpture is three *shaku* in height, whilst the *shin byakudan* Shaka sculpture is only one *shaku* and eight *sun* in height. Furthermore, the *shin byakudan* Shaka triad recorded in the *Daigozōjiki* is *icchaku shuhan* in height, which is the prescribed height for *danzō* as

⁶⁴ Suzuki, “Hakubokuzō,” p. 21; *Daigozōjiki*, vol. 2, ed. Nakajima Shunji, p. 45.

⁶⁵ Suzuki, “Hakubokuzō,” p. 21; *Iwashimizu Hachimangū shiryōsōsho*, in Dai Nihon shiryō, vol. 5/11, pp. 278 and 297.

⁶⁶ Suzuki, “Danzō no gainen,” p. 175.

⁶⁷ Suzuki, “Hakubokuzō,” p. 33, footnote 34.

stipulated in the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra*. The fact that the “*shin byakudan*” sculptures recorded in both the *Daigo zatsujiki* and the *Butsuzō mokuroku* are of small size and are much smaller than the “*byakudan*” sculpture of three *shaku* recorded in the *Butsuzō mokuroku*, makes it likely that the two “*shin byakudan*” sculptures were made out of real sandalwood and Suzuki’s explanation of “*shin byakudan*” denoting real sandalwood and “*byakudan*” denoting substitute material seems very convincing.

However, taking this explanation further, it would give a significant meaning to the term “*byakudan*” sculpture. It would clearly mean that “*byakudan*” sculptures, denoting *danzō* made out of substitute materials, were fully recognised as “*byakudan*” sculptures—*danzō*—although they were made out of substitute materials. In this sense, the term “*byakudan*” sculpture, referring to *danzō* made out of substitute materials together with the earlier mentioned recording of “*byakudan, hakuboku*” in the *Hyakurenshō*, clearly shows that in Japan *danzō* made out of substitute materials such as *kaya* and *sakura* were considered as fully expressive of the concept of *danzō* and therefore were recorded as such. However, the fact that none of the surviving *danzō* in Japan made out of real *byakudan* are recorded in records as “*shin byakudan*,” shows that the term “*shin byakudan*” might not have been as widely used and most real sandalwood sculptures were recorded as *danzō* or *byakudan* together with *danzō* made out of substitute materials. In fact, one could argue that the distinction between *danzō* made out of real sandalwood and those made out of substitute materials was not clearly made, since both were seen as expressive of the one concept of *danzō* and thus both were classified as *danzō*.

In the discussion of sandalwood as a material for sculpture making, I pointed out that one of the most characteristic and defining elements of *danzō* is the particularly intricate carving technique, which was transmitted to Japan by specially trained sculptors (*chōdan*), who accompanied Ganjin to Japan. Thus, this is a fundamental defining element of *danzō* and it is important to point out that the same technique was also applied to *danzō* made out of substitute materials, since this was one of the very characteristics of the concept of *danzō*, which allowed the worshipper to recognise them as such. One of the earliest surviving Chinese *danzō* made out of a substitute material, *sakura*, is the Jūichimen Kannon in the Jinpuku-ji (神福寺) in Yamaguchi, which can be dated to the first quarter of the 8th century (pl. 35). It shows the same consummate carving skill and highest level of technique and craftsmanship as the Kumen Kannon of Hōryū-ji (pl. 34), which was made out of sandalwood. A much later Japanese example made out of *kaya*, the Jūichimen Kannon in the Kaijūsen-ji (海住山寺) in Kyoto (pl. 40), which can be dated to the late 9th to early 10th century is further testimony to the highest level of carving technique and is proof that this defining characteristic was clearly expressed irrespective of the material being real sandalwood or a substitute material and therefore is one of the defining characteristics of *danzō*.

From the above discussion it became clear that the material element in the concept of *danzō* in China and Japan included sculptures made out of sandalwood as well as those made out of substitute materials. The inclusion of sculptures made out of substitute materials was made possible, since all the substitute materials were chosen in respect of their close resemblance to sandalwood in terms of their fragrance, colour, fine-texture and suitability for intricate carving. In this sense the selection of substitute materials was

in line with the concept of *danzō* and therefore could be included in it. Furthermore, Huizhao's commentary to the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra*, the *Shiyimian Shenzhou yishu*, authorised the use of substitute materials such as *hakuboku* and therefore provided a textual basis for the inclusion of substitute materials in the concept of *danzō*. In this sense, the use of substitute materials for the making of *danzō*, was justified in a material sense due to the physical resemblance to sandalwood and in a spiritual sense due to the authorisation in Huizhao's *Shiyimian Shenzhou yishu*. Therefore, the material element in the concept of *danzō* in Japan consists of sandalwood as well as suitable substitute materials such as *kaya*, *sakura* and occasionally *hinoki*.

It is further characterized and unified by the sublime and unique carving technique, which as discussed above, was equally applied to sculptures made out of sandalwood and substitute materials. In this sense, the most intricate and refined carving technique and surface polish, which cannot be found on any other Buddhist sculptures characterizes the material element of *danzō* further.

Next, I would like to refine this definition further by discussing another important characteristic, which is size. In the earlier discussion of sandalwood as a material for sculpture making, it became clear that due to the fact that the sandalwood tree reaches a maximum height of only 10 metres and a maximum diameter of only 60 cm, together with the fact that only the heartwood was suitable for sculptures, the blocks of material for sculpture making were rather small.

Furthermore the specification of height for *danzō* as *icchakushuhan* or one *shaku* and three *sun* in the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra*, can be seen as a consequence of this natural restriction and underlines the point that due to this and the preciousness of

sandalwood, *danzō* had to be of small size. However, one has to bear in mind that the size given in the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra* was only used as a guideline and not meticulously adhered to as one can see from the largest surviving *danzō* made out of sandalwood, the Shō Kannon sculpture formerly kept in the Entsū-ji and now in the Sakai City Museum in Osaka, which measures 74 cm (approximately 2 *shaku* 4 *sun*) in height (pl. 46). Nevertheless, it is still a comparatively small sculpture, but is probably the largest size possible for a *danzō* due to the limitations of material and the textual stipulations that were certainly adhered to, even if in a broad sense. Therefore, one could argue that the small size of *danzō* reflects the natural scarcity and preciousness of the material and conversely became a characteristic of *danzō* as sculptures made out of precious wood. Thus, the small size was one of the most obvious characteristics that signalled that these sculptures were made out of sandalwood and a perceptual correlation between the precious material and the small size of the sculptures was established.

However, Suzuki Yoshihiro has argued that due to the authorisation of the substitute material, *hakuboku* (*kaya*), in Huizhao's *Shiyimian Shenzhou yishu*, it was not only possible to make indigenous *danzō* in Japan, but also to increase the size of *danzō*, since the restriction of sandalwood imposed by the small size of the sandalwood tree and the preciousness of the material had been lifted. Suzuki suggests that there were *danzō* of *jōroku* (丈六) height, such as the Yakushi Nyorai (薬師如来) sculptures of Gangō-ji (元興寺) and Shin Yakushi-ji (新薬師寺), which he calls "*jōroku danzō* made out of *hakuboku*."⁶⁸ This line of argument is unconvincing, since Huizhao's commentary on the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra* specifically sanctions the use of substitute materials

⁶⁸ Suzuki, "Danzō no gainen," pp. 177-78; it is interesting to note, that Suzuki does not include those plain wood sculptures in his concept of *danzō* in his earlier article and clearly distinguishes them from "pure, genuine *danzō*," see Suzuki, "Hakubokuzō," p. 28.

(*hakuboku*), but does not authorise the change in size set out in the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra*. Therefore, the instructions given for the size of *danzō* in the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra* were not amended in Huizhao's commentary and thus, were still in place, which means that Suzuki Yoshihiro's theory of "*jōroku danzō* made out of *hakuboku*," lacks any textual foundation. Furthermore, Suzuki's theory of "*jōroku danzō*" made out of *hakuboku* shows the pitfalls in trying to define *danzō* one-sidedly only in terms of material. In this dissertation, material is seen as one element in the concept of *danzō* as religious icons and the fact that both *danzō* and *jōroku* plain-wood sculptures were made out of *kaya* does not necessarily mean that they both derive from the same concept as a cult image and can therefore be classified under the same term—*danzō*.

Inoue Tadashi in his equally one-sided definition of *danzō* in terms of material, goes even further and argues that due to the sanctioning of substitute materials for sandalwood such as *kaya*, *hinoki*, and *sakura*, not only all plain-wood sculptures made out of these substitute materials irrespective of their size, but also all lacquered wood sculptures (*mokushin kanshitsu*; 木心乾漆) made out of these substitute materials should be regarded as carrying the idea of *danzō* and should be understood as *danzō* in a broader sense.⁶⁹ However, the fact that *danzō*, which are of small size, were made throughout the Heian period, makes it quite inconceivable that much larger images made at the same time should have been able to fulfil the same religious function and carry the same meaning, simply due to having been made out of the same material. I therefore reject this theory to include these sculptures in the same category of religious images as *danzō*.

⁶⁹ Inoue, "Kanbodai-ji Jūichimen Kannon," pp. 16-17; Inoue, *Danzō*, pp. 30-33 and pp. 52-75.

However, it is important to acknowledge the existence of documents that record large size wood sculptures as *danzō* and to examine the different theories how this can be interpreted. Kuno Takeshi by carefully examining temple records of the Heian period arrived at the important observation, that from the mid-9th to the late 10th century, the term *danzō* was used for small, finely carved sculptures as well as large plain-wood sculptures.⁷⁰ However, the fact that large plain-wood sculptures were recorded as *danzō*, makes one wonder how this is to be understood in the context of what has been said about *danzō* so far. One of the records that seems to provide an answer to this phenomenon is the *Jingo-ji ryakki* (神護寺略記), compiled in 1315, which contains passages from two earlier temple histories, the *Kōnin shizaichō* (弘仁資財帳) of 810 to 824 and the *Jōhei jitsurokuchō* (承平実録帳) of 931 respectively.⁷¹

The two records refer to the same image of Yakushi Nyorai, which in all likelihood, is the main image (*honzon*; 本尊) of Jingo-ji (神護寺) today.⁷² The earlier *Kōnin shizaichō* records it as:

One statue of Yakushi Buddha.⁷³

Whilst the later *Jōhei jitsurokuchō* records it as:

One statue of a *danzō* Yakushi Buddha, five *shaku* and five *sun* in height.⁷⁴

It is interesting to note that the earlier recording of the statue in the *Kōnin shizaichō*, which is closer to the date of making of the sculpture, does not record it as a *danzō*.

⁷⁰ Kuno, "Danzō chōkoku," pp. 36-39.

⁷¹ Kuno, "Danzō chōkoku," pp. 36-37; Morse, "The Formation of the Plain-wood style," p. 175.

⁷² For a detailed discussion of the history of the Yakushi Nyorai of Jingo-ji, see Morse, "The Formation of the Plain-wood style," pp. 161-81; and Mōri Hisashi, "Jingo-ji Yakushi nyorai ryūzō no mondai," reprinted in *Nihon Bukkyō chōkokushi no kenkyū*, (Kyoto: Hozokan, 1970), pp. 94-101.

⁷³ Maruō Shōsaburō, et al., eds., *Nihon chōkokushi kiso shiryō shūsei: Heian jidai. Jūyō sakuin hen* (Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 1976), vol. 2, p. 22.

⁷⁴ Maruō Shōsaburō, et al., eds., *Nihon chōkokushi*, p. 22.

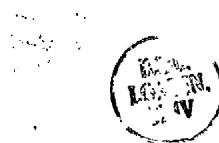
Therefore, there must be a reason, why the later recording of the same statue in the *Jōhei jitsurōkuchō* calls it a *danzō*. Mōri Hisashi, Kuno Takeshi and similarly Samuel Morse have argued that the term *danzō* came to be used as a general term for unpainted wood sculptures, including both small, finely carved sculptures and large plain-wood sculptures and in this sense became synonymous with plain-wood sculptures in general.⁷⁵ However, Morse concedes that strictly speaking the term *danzō* should have only been applied to small, finely carved sculptures.⁷⁶ In this sense, Mōri Hisashi and Samuel Morse, similarly to Suzuki Yoshihiro's and Inoue Tadashi's theory, argue that the concept of *danzō* was extended to include plain-wood sculptures. I do not agree with this interpretation and would like to follow the line of thought suggested by Tazawa Yutaka, that *danzō* was used as a "term of praise" for plain-wood sculptures in the mid-Heian period due to the deep reverence for *danzō* at that time.⁷⁷

Moreover, I would like to develop Tazawa Yutaka's idea further and starting from the concept of *danzō* as religious images of special sanctity and efficacy, I would like to suggest, that due to the special esteem in which *danzō* were held and the particular efficacy ascribed to them, the use of the term *danzō* in temple records for certain plain-wood sculptures was an attempt to bestow some of this special sanctity and efficacy associated with *danzō* on plain-wood sculptures. The fact, that the earlier record in the *Kōnin shizaichō* does not record the Jingo-ji Yakushi as a *danzō* supports the argument that the sculpture was not originally made or regarded as a *danzō*, but was attempted, at some later point, to be elevated to the spiritual level of *danzō* by recording it as *danzō*.

⁷⁵ Mōri, "Heian jidai," pp. 141-42; Kuno, "Danzō chōkoku," pp. 36-39; Morse, "The Formation of the Plain-wood style," p. 178.

⁷⁶ Morse, "The Formation of the Plain-wood style," p. 181.

⁷⁷ Tazawa Yutaka, "Heianchō shoki ni okeru mokuzōchōkoku no kōryū ni kanshite," (jō), *Bijutsu Kenkyū*, no. 128 (January 1943), p. 5.



Therefore, I would argue that the use of the term *danzō* in temple records for large plain-wood sculptures does not mean an extension of the concept of *danzō* to include plain-wood sculptures, but on the contrary, is an acknowledgement of the special esteem in which *danzō* were held and the unique position which they occupied as religious images. It is this esteem, which is expressed in the use of the term *danzō* for plain-wood sculptures and reflects the desire to confer some of the special sanctity and efficacy of *danzō* on certain plain-wood sculptures.

As an aside, I would like to mention that this is an analogous phenomenon to the recording of many copies of the Seiryō-ji Shaka (清涼寺釈迦) sculpture, which is said to be a copy of the Udayana Shaka. Many of these copies are recorded in temple records as “*sangoku denrai*” (三国伝来), meaning that they were transmitted from India to China and eventually to Japan, hence the name “being transmitted through three countries,” which represented a provenance that established their special sanctity and efficacy as cult images. However, all these copies were clearly made in Japan and the people recording these sculptures were aware of this fact.⁷⁸ Thus, it represents a similar phenomenon to the recording of large plain-wood sculptures as *danzō* and shows the wish to confer a special sanctity and orthodoxy onto the sculptures by recording them as “*sangoku denrai*” and in this way to establish a powerful link to India, the birthplace of Buddha and to elevate them spiritually to the level of the Udayana Shaka image.

Therefore, the material element of *danzō* established so far, consists of sandalwood or suitable substitute materials, with the further characteristic of a uniquely intricate

⁷⁸ Oka Naomi has pointed out, that these sculptures were all recorded as “*sangoku denrai*” in order to establish their religious provenance, but by completely ignoring the historical facts, that these images were made in Japan. This clearly shows that the term “*sangoku denrai*” has to be understood in a religious sense and not a literal one. See Oka Naomi, “*Danzō yōshiki to sono shiteki hatten ni suite*,” *Mikkyō Kenkyū*, no. 67 (1938), p. 65.

carving technique and small size.

3. *Danjiki*

In the discussion of sandalwood as a material for sculpture making, it became clear that the most desirable part of the sandalwood tree was the heartwood close to the root, since it has the strongest fragrance and the most intense yellow (*kōdan*) or red (*shaku sendan*) colour. Therefore, the yellow or red colour of sandalwood is an important characteristic and as seen in the discussion on substitute materials, was an important factor in the choice of substitute materials such as *kaya*, which is of yellowish colour and therefore similar in colour to *kōdan*, and *sakura*, which is of reddish colour and therefore similar in colour to *shaku sendan*. Thus, one can say that the yellowish or reddish colour of the material is another characteristic of the material element in the concept of *danzō* and defines it further. Most scholars, therefore, agree that in order to show the beauty of the natural yellow or red colour to full effect and in order to enable the fragrance to emit from the material, *danzō* were originally made as plain-wood sculptures.⁷⁹ They argue that, apart from the eyes, lips, eyebrows, beard and hair, *danzō* were left unpainted and that the natural plain-wood finishing is one of the characteristics of *danzō*. Therefore the interpretation of the term *danjiki* (檀色), which is recorded in the article of Kōdō in the *Kawachikoku Kanshin-ji engi shizaichō* (河内国欽心寺縁起資財帳) in the ninth month of Gangyō 7 (883) has caused considerable controversy amongst scholars. The record of

⁷⁹ Mōri, “Heian jidai,” p. 140; Kuno, “Danzō chōkoku,” p. 34; Suzuki, “Hakubokuzō,” p. 15; Inoue, *Danzō*, p. 25.

Buddhist sculptures, states:

One gold coloured (*konjiki*; 金色) Butsugan Butsubo Nyorai-zō (仏眼仏母如来像)
One gold coloured (*konjiki*; 金色) Miroku Nyorai-zō (弥勒如来像)
One *danjiki* (檀色) Yakushi Nyorai-zō (薬師如来像), commissioned by Shami
(沙彌; Sk: Shumaranera) Ekiman (益満), who was training to be a bhikshu
One coloured (*saishiki*; 彩色) Nyoirin Bosatsu (如意輪菩薩).⁸⁰

Mōri Hisashi was the first scholar to pay attention to the term *danjiki* in the third line of this document and to attempt an interpretation of this term. Starting from the point that the term *dangan* (檀龕) recorded in the *Ennin nyūtō shinkyū seikyō mokuroku* (円仁入唐新求聖教目錄) and in the *Chishō daishi kugen mokuroku* (智証大師公驗目錄), means *danzō* in *gan* style, he interpreted *danjiki* to denote painted *danzō*. He therefore concludes that, although the term *danzō* was mainly used for plain-wood sculpture in the Heian period, it was not solely used for plain-wood sculpture, and that the original points of *danzō* such as colouring and material seem to have been thought of in a broader sense.⁸¹ Thus, by interpreting the term *danjiki* as painted *danzō*, Mōri Hisashi includes painted sculptures within his definition of *danzō*.

In stark contrast to this stands Kuno Takeshi's interpretation of the term *danjiki*. He argues that it is difficult to think of *danjiki* as *danzō* with colouring and "judging from the point that *danjiki* played a similar role to *konjiki* and *saishiki*, one should understand it as a Yakushi Nyorai with the colour of *danzō*."⁸² He further argues that since the *Kawachikoku Kanshin-ji engi shizaichō* is not contemporary with the date of making of these sculptures, but a later record of the sculptures in the temple, if the Yakushi had been a painted sculpture, it may be difficult to ascertain whether originally this

⁸⁰ Nara ibun, vol. 175; Inoue, "Danjiki no igi," p. 33.

⁸¹ Mōri, "Heian jidai," pp. 142-43.

⁸² Kuno, "Danzō chōkoku," p. 45.

sculpture was a painted *danzō*. He conjectures that since the sculpture was commissioned by a rather low-ranking monk, it is unlikely that the sculpture was made out of sandalwood and if a substitute material had been used, the application of colour on the surface would have made it difficult to distinguish it from other painted sculptures. Thus he concludes that, judging from the recording of the terms gold-coloured (*konjiki*) before and coloured (*saishiki*) after the term *danjiki*, *danjiki* should be understood as a term denoting plain-wood sculptures.⁸³

However, Kuno Takeshi suggests that apart from *danzō* another category of sculptures, which he calls “small-sized painted sculptures” existed, which were brought to Japan by monks coming back from China during the early Heian period and argues that the prolific copying of these sculptures occurred simultaneously with the making of *danzō*. He considers the Senju Kannon (千手観音) of Enryaku-ji (延暦寺) (pl. 43), the Jūichimen Kannon of Ryōsen-ji (靈山寺), the Shō Kannon sculptures of Daigo-ji (醍醐寺) (pl. 47) and Fumon-in (普門院), and the standing Bosatsu of Jōkyō-ji (常教寺) as belonging to this group of “small-sized painted sculptures.”⁸⁴

Suzuki Yoshihiro gives yet another interpretation of the term *danjiki*. He refutes Mōri Hisashi’s interpretation of *danjiki* as painted *danzō* and takes up a slightly different interpretation from Kuno Takeshi’s idea of *danjiki* meaning the colour of *danzō*, hence plain-wood sculptures. Suzuki points out that the term *danjiki* can be found in Chinese translated sūtras such as the *Arorikikyō* (阿耨力經) from the *Kakuzenshō* (覺禪鈔) of the Kamakura period, where it is mentioned as “the body colour like *danboku* or made in *byakudan* colour.”⁸⁵ Therefore, he suggests that the term should be interpreted as the

⁸³ Kuno, “Danzō chōkoku,” p. 46.

⁸⁴ Kuno, “Danzō chōkoku,” pp. 46-47.

surface colour of sandalwood and argues that *danjiki* was a term to summarize the different colours of sandalwood such as yellow (*kōdan*), red (*shaku sendan*) and white (*byakudan*). He further suggests that the term *danjiki* reflects the deep appreciation of the fragrance and colour of sandalwood. He points out that the Kumen Kannon of Hōryū-ji (pl. 34) and the Shō Kannon formerly of Entsū-ji (pl. 46), both have got a faint reddish colour applied to their surface. He argues that one can see this either as the application of dyestuff (*suō*; 蘇芳) as a pesticide, as can be seen on many objects in the Shōsōin, or one can see it as the conscious imitation of high quality red sandalwood (*shaku sendan*). Due to his interpretation of *danjiki* as a term denoting the different colours of sandalwood, Suzuki Yoshihiro argues that the second characteristic of Mōri Hisashi's four characteristics of *danzō*—namely being plain-wood—should be replaced for being of the colour of sandalwood.⁸⁶ However, Suzuki Yoshihiro argues that the term *danjiki* was used in sūtras, but is problematic as an art historical term. He admits that *danjiki* undoubtedly meant physical colouring, but “spiritually should be thought of as in the category of plain-wood finishing.”⁸⁷ In order to support his argument, he cites a passage from the *Shinsarugakuki* (新猿樂記), which mentions the term *byakudan zukuri*:

Shichirōja is a *daibusshi*. *Jōroku*, life-size, *icchakushuhan*, gentle and angry features, gold coloured, coloured and *byakudan zukuri*.⁸⁸

Suzuki argues that judging from the order of description of the various types of sculptures made by the *daibusshi* Shichirōja, one can presume that the last mentioned *byakudan zukuri* should be understood as a finishing method without colour in contrast to gold coloured and coloured. He therefore interprets the term *byakudan zukuri* as a special

⁸⁵ Suzuki, “Hakubokuzō,” pp. 18-19 and “Danzō no gainen,” p. 174; *Daizōkyō*, drawings, vol. 4, p. 778C.

⁸⁶ Suzuki, “Danzō no gainen,” p. 174.

⁸⁷ Suzuki, “Danzō no gainen,” p. 177.

⁸⁸ Suzuki, “Hakubokuzō,” p. 20; *Shinsarugakuki*, Tōyōbunko 424, p. 272.

surface finishing peculiar to *danzō*, which deeply respects the natural colour of sandalwood. Nevertheless he concludes that “the idea of *danjiki* should be included in the meaning of *byakudan* making and this is exactly the one which makes up the concept of *danzō*.”⁸⁹ Thus Suzuki Yoshihiro, in contrast to Kuno Takeshi, who interpreted the term *danjiki* as plain-wood sculpture, interprets it as plain-wood finishing in a spiritual sense, which however deeply respects the colour of sandalwood sensually by imitating it.

He therefore sees *danjiki* as the colouring in imitation of the natural plain surface of sandalwood and thus argues that it is in line with the original concept of *danzō* making as plain-wood sculptures. As an aside, it is interesting to point out that in his earlier research Suzuki Yoshihiro follows Kuno Takeshi’s theory of a category of “small-sized painted sculptures,” (*saishiki shōzō*; 彩色小像), which he places outside his consideration of *danzō*, but does not follow this line of thought in his later research.⁹⁰

Inoue Tadashi has interpreted *danjiki* in a very similar way to Suzuki Yoshihiro and starts from the point that sandalwood is generally of whitish colour but the most fragrant and desirable part for sculpture making near the root of the sandalwood tree is either of yellow (*kōdan*) or red colour (*shaku sendan*). Therefore, he interprets *danjiki*, similarly to Suzuki Yoshihiro, as seeking the strongest possible resemblance to high quality sandalwood and thus denotes either reddish or yellowish colour.⁹¹ He rightly points out that there are *danzō* made out of sandalwood that have reddish or yellowish colouring applied and argues that this must be seen as the strong desire to use only the highest quality of *byakudan* material as stated in the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra*. He thus

⁸⁹ Suzuki, “*Danzō no gainen*,” pp. 176-77.

⁹⁰ For Suzuki’s acceptance of Kuno Takeshi’s *saishiki shōzō* and their placement as an independent category of sculptures from *danzō*, see Suzuki, “*Hakubokuzō*,” pp. 19-20; this concept is no longer mentioned in the later Suzuki, “*Danzō no gainen*.”

⁹¹ Inoue, *Danzō*, p. 28.

concludes that “one can understand that the beginning of *danjiki* was already born in *byakudan* sculpture.”⁹² He further argues, that in order to preserve the beauty of the grain only a very pale yellowish or reddish colour or dyestuff was applied on the surface initially.⁹³

Of the four interpretations of *danjiki* by Mōri Hisashi, Kuno Takeshi, Suzuki Yoshihiro and Inoue Tadashi, Suzuki Yoshihiro’s and Inoue Tadashi’s interpretation of the term as colouring, imitating the natural yellow or red surface colour of high quality sandalwood appears to be most convincing. This seems to be the most plausible interpretation in the context of the discussion so far and when considering the actual examples of *danzō*. In the discussion of the significance of sandalwood as a material for sculpture making, it became clear that it was due to the spiritual, medicinal as well as physical properties of sandalwood that it was chosen as a material for particularly sacred images. It became further clear in the discussion of substitute materials that the physical characteristics of sandalwood such as fragrance and particularly colour were the main criteria in the choice of suitable substitute materials for sandalwood. I would further argue that, since the yellow or red colour is one of the most obvious perceptual characteristics of sandalwood, the interpretation of *danjiki* as a term for the application of yellow or red colour in imitation of high quality sandalwood, fits into the very concept of *danzō* making and is fully expressive of it.

How closely *danjiki* is linked to the original concept of *danzō* making can be seen in the fact, as pointed out by Inoue Tadashi, that some *danzō* made out of sandalwood such as the Kumen Kannon of Hōryū-ji (pl. 34) or the Senju Kannon of Bujō-ji (峰定寺)

⁹² Inoue, *Danzō*, p. 28.

⁹³ Inoue, “Kanbodai-ji Jūichimen Kannon,” pp. 17-18.

(pl. 44) have colouring applied to their surface.⁹⁴ This shows the desire to follow the instructions in the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra* to use only “sandalwood of the highest quality without imperfection.”⁹⁵ It further illustrates that it was the intense yellow or red colour, which indicated the high quality of the material and made it instantly recognisable as such and therefore, became such an important characteristic in its own right. Thus the fact that *danjiki* was applied to *danzō* made out of sandalwood proves that it is a characteristic, that derives from the very core of the concept of *danzō* and particularly had to be applied when using substitute materials. Therefore, it can be seen as another characteristic of the material element in the concept of *danzō*.

Moreover, Inoue Tadashi has carefully examined sculptures in regard to *danjiki* and established a group of well over forty sculptures, which he classifies as yellow *danjiki* and argues that further research will reveal that there are in fact even more *danjiki* sculptures. He clearly considers these yellow *danjiki* sculptures within his definition of *danzō*.⁹⁶ He includes such formally and stylistically different sculptures such as the Senju Kannon of Bujō-ji (pl. 44) and the Jūichimen Kannon of Kaijūsen-ji (pl. 40) on the one hand and the Jūichimen Kannon sculptures of Kanbodai-ji (観菩提寺) in Mie and Yōryū-ji (楊柳寺) in Hyōgo on the other hand in the same group of sculptures, merely on the ground that they all have yellow colouring (*kōdanjiki*) applied to their surface and should therefore be considered as one single coherent group of sculptures.⁹⁷ In my view, this clearly demonstrates the shortcomings of an attempt to define sculptures solely in terms of *danjiki*. The Senju Kannon of Bujō-ji and the Jūichimen Kannon of

⁹⁴ Inoue, *Danzō*, p. 28

⁹⁵ Mochizuki, ed., *Bukkyō Daijiten*, vol. 3, pp. 2206-2207a.

⁹⁶ Inoue, *Danzō*, p. 28 and text to the illustrations of individual sculptures, in which he notes, whether they have *danjiki* applied.

⁹⁷ Inoue, “Danjiki no igi,” p. 34-35, particularly p. 34 for a list of yellow *danjiki* sculptures.

Kaijūsen-ji are small sculptures of less than 50 cm and are intricately carved with the most beautiful surface finishing. In contrast to these, the Jūichimen Kannon sculptures of Kanbodai-ji and Yōryū-ji are large sculptures of 205 cm and 125 cm respectively, and particularly in the case of the Yōryū-ji sculpture are rather crudely carved and share no formal or stylistic similarities with the Bujō-ji and Kaijūsen-ji sculptures, whatsoever. It therefore seems quite inconceivable to me to classify these so obviously different sculptures under the same category entirely on the ground of *danjiki* finishing.

As pointed out earlier, the yellow or red colour is one of the main characteristics of sandalwood as a material and therefore the application of *danjiki* expresses the wish to imitate high quality sandalwood. Judging from the surviving sculptures that have *danjiki* applied, it appears that *danjiki* was applied not only to small *danzō*, but also to large plain-wood sculptures. However, this does not necessarily mean that both can be included in the same category of religious images, since *danjiki* is only one characteristic of the material element in the concept of *danzō*, which cannot be adequately defined in terms of one single characteristic.

Furthermore, Suzuki Yoshihiro has pointed out that it is quite impossible to determine precisely when *danjiki* was applied to most sculptures and suggests that many of them might have been covered with *danjiki* at a much later point than their date of making.⁹⁸ This point is interesting and might provide an answer to the question of why plain-wood sculptures were also coloured with *danjiki*, particularly at a later time than their date of making. It provides an analogy to my earlier mentioned suggestion of the use of the term *danzō* for plain-wood sculptures in temple records, and I would like to suggest that, since the yellow or red colour was one of the most obvious visual characteristics of the

⁹⁸ Suzuki, "Danzō no gainen," pp. 176-77.

material constituent of *danzō*, the application of *danjiki* on plain-wood sculptures was a means to bestow some of the sanctity and efficacy associated with *danzō* on plain-wood sculptures in the same way as the use of the term *danzō* in temple records was an attempt to imbue plain-wood sculptures with some of the special sanctity and efficacy of *danzō*. However, this does not mean that plain-wood sculptures, due to having *danjiki* applied, can be included in the concept of *danzō*, since the definition of the material of *danzō* established so far consists of other characteristics as well such as small size and a particularly intricate carving technique, which plain-wood sculptures do not feature.

On the contrary, the application of *danjiki* as one of the characteristics of the material element of *danzō* on plain-wood sculptures, which as I suggested should be seen as the wish to imbue plain-wood sculptures with some of the special efficacy and religious power of *danzō*, reflects the great reverence for *danzō* as a unique category of particularly sacred images and further shows the strong influence that emanated from this special category of cult images as a result of their unique formal and spiritual characteristics.

Another aspect of surface treatment of the material element of *danzō*, is the application of intricate cut gold-leaf decoration (*kirikane*; 切金 or *taikin*; 戴金). This is an extremely difficult and highly advanced technique, in which a very thin sheet of gold foil reinforced by a layer of silver is cut into straight, narrow strips, which are then shaped and combined to form the desired pattern and glued onto the surface. The flexible strips make it possible to produce the most intricate and detailed patterns, although due to the technical restrictions they are mostly of a linear type. The technique flourished in Japan during the late Heian period, particularly during the 11th and 12th centuries, and was applied with the greatest accomplishment and perfection on both painting and

sculpture, reflecting the refined and sophisticated aesthetic sense of the Fujiwara period aristocracy.⁹⁹

It is difficult to determine from what date *danzō* started to become embellished with *kirikane*. The earliest *danzō* in Japan, which still seems to have its original *kirikane* decoration is the portable shrine (*dangan*) in the Hōon-ji (報恩寺) (pl. 13), which was imported from China and can be dated to the 10th century. It shows a most magnificent display of *kirikane* technique and one can assume that it was through imported *danzō* such as this small shrine that the technique and custom of decorating *danzō* with *kirikane* was introduced from China to Japan, although it is impossible at present to determine the exact date when this happened.¹⁰⁰ There are earlier Japanese *danzō*, which show traces of *kirikane* such as the Jūichimen Kannon kept in the Nara National Museum (pl. 36), which is datable to the third quarter of the 8th century and the Yakushi Nyorai of Shōji-ji (勝持寺) (pl. 26), which can be dated to the mid-9th century. However, it is questionable, whether these traces of *kirikane* are contemporary with the date of making of these sculptures and further research will be required to clarify this point.

The fact that the Nyoirin Kannon of Hōryū-ji (pl. 45) datable to the second half of the 8th century, which has most intricate *kirikane* applied to its surface, but carries an inscription, which states that “the monk Eison (叡尊; 1201-1290) of Saidai-ji applied

⁹⁹ For a detailed discussion of the *kirikane* technique and its use on Buddhist paintings and sculpture, see Dietrich Seckel, *Buddhist Art of East Asia*, translated by Ulrich Mammitzsch (Bellingham, Wash.: Western Washington University, 1989), pp. 132-33; and Dietrich Seckel, “Kirikane: Die Schnittgold-Dekoration in der japanischen Kunst, ihre Technik und ihre Geschichte,” *Oriens Extremus*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1954), pp. 71-88.

¹⁰⁰ For a discussion of the Hōon-ji *dangan* in the context of *kirikane* applied to *danzō*, see Ariga Yoshitaka, *Taikin to saishiki*, *Nihon no bijutsu*, no. 373 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1997), pp. 39-40. The decoration of Chinese Buddhist sculpture with *kirikane* can be traced back to as early as the mid-6th century as evidenced by the Northern Qi dynasty (550-577) images excavated at Qingzhou in Shandong province, whilst the earliest evidence of *kirikane* in Japanese Buddhist sculpture can be seen on the Shitennō sculptures at Hōryū-ji in Nara, datable to the mid-7th century; see Helmut Brinker, “Sublime Adornment: Kirikane in Chinese Buddhist Sculpture,” *Orientations*, vol. 34, no. 10 (December 2003), pp. 30-35.

kirikane in Shōka 2 (1258),” is evidence that it was customary to apply *kirikane* on early *danzō* at a much later date.¹⁰¹ Therefore, one has to be cautious when judging the date of *kirikane* applied to early *danzō* and it is impossible at present to determine exactly, when it became customary for *danzō* to be embellished with *kirikane*.

Itō Shirō has argued that the lavish use of *kirikane* on *danzō* did not exist prior to the Fujiwara period and that it is a characteristic of *danzō* of the Fujiwara period, reflecting the general tendency of Buddhist sculpture and painting at that time in expressing the extremely refined aesthetic sense of Fujiwara period aristocrats.¹⁰²

Judging from the surviving examples of *danzō* such as the Yakushi Nyorai of Ninna-ji (仁和寺) dated 1103 (pl. 27) and the Senju Kannon of Bujō-ji dated 1154 (pl. 44), one can see that by the 12th century *danzō* were decorated with the most complicated and elaborate *kirikane* patterns, reflecting the technical and artistic perfection attained in this technique by that time. It further demonstrates, that by the 12th century *kirikane* had become a customary surface finishing of *danzō* and thus can be defined as another characteristic of the material element in the concept of *danzō* at that time.

Suzuki Yoshihiro has argued that, by the Fujiwara period, the application of elaborate *kirikane* in the process of Japanization had replaced the intricate carving technique (*rukoku*; 鑲刻), particularly seen in the jewellery and ornaments of Tang dynasty and Nara to early Heian period *danzō*.¹⁰³ I do not entirely agree with this and would argue,

¹⁰¹ Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Danzō: byakudanbutsu kara nihon no mokuchō butsu e* (Nara: Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 1991), pp. 92-93, pl. 40.

¹⁰² Itō Shirō, “Ninna-ji Kyū Kita-in honzon Yakushi nyorai danzō ni tsuite,” *Bukkyō geijutsu*, no. 177 (March 1988), pp. 22-25. Itō Shiro provides an excellent stylistic analysis of the development of *kirikane* patterns on *danzō* of the Fujiwara period, from the 11th to the 12th century.

¹⁰³ Suzuki, “Danzō no gainen,” pp. 171-73. Suzuki regards the application of *kirikane* on *danzō* as the final stage in the process of Japanization of *danzō*. However, the fact that the Chinese *dangan* of Hōon-ji of the 10th century (pl. 13) shows most elaborate, original *kirikane*, makes Suzuki’s point of view of seeing the application of *kirikane* as an expression of Japanization highly questionable. In view of the evidence presented by the *dangan* of Hōon-ji, I would argue that the technique and custom of decorating *danzō* with

judging from the remaining *danzō* such as the Yakushi Nyorai of Ninna-ji (pl. 27) and the Senju Kannon of Bujō-ji (pl. 44), that the intricate carving technique and fine surface finishing was still a defining characteristic of *danzō* in the Fujiwara period, which was only expressed in a different style compared to earlier *danzō*, and to which the most elaborate patterns of *kirikane* were added as a surface decoration, which can be seen as the ultimate expression of *shōgon* (莊嚴).

Shōgon is a concept, which is central to the understanding of Japanese Buddhist art in general and I will argue to *danzō* in particular and can be understood as the manifestation of the spiritual or sacred through the most elaborate ornamentation. Dietrich Seckel speaks of it as a term “where the vocabularies of religious and aesthetic life intersect” and appropriately translates it as “sanctification through a wealth of splendour.”¹⁰⁴ *Kirikane* expresses the concept of *shōgon* and I will return to a more detailed discussion of *shōgon* and its significance for *danzō* in the next chapter.

In conclusion, one can say that the material element in the concept of *danzō* consists of either sandalwood or a suitable substitute material such as *kaya*, *sakura* and occasionally *hinoki*. It is further characterised by small size mostly *ichiboku zukuri* either plain-wood or *danjiki* and an intricate carving technique, which from the Fujiwara period is combined with elaborate *kirikane* decoration as an expression of *shōgon*.

kirikane was introduced from China, but the style in which it was expressed, as can be seen from surviving examples of the Fujiwara period (pls. 27, 28, 41, 44) became distinctively Japanese.

¹⁰⁴ See Seckel, *Buddhist Art*, pp. 183-86, for a detailed discussion of the concept of *shōgon*.

CHAPTER 2

FORM AND FUNCTIONS OF *DANZŌ*

Form, which consists of iconography and style, is the second element in the concept of *danzō*. I will propose that the religious-aesthetic concept of *shōgon* (sublime adornment) expressed in the fine carving on the highest level of craftsmanship is the central and constant defining factor in the form of *danzō*. Since the concept of *shōgon* is vital for the definition of form, I will first examine the concept of *shōgon* and explore the different meanings of the term. I will then proceed to an examination of the expression of *shōgon* in the two elements of material and form and argue that *shōgon* is the essential factor in the form of *danzō*, which however varies in its expression according to iconographic type and period-style. Particular consideration in the discussion of form will be given to the problem of a so-called “*danzō* style.” Based on the vital distinction between the type-style and period-style, a new definition of the type-style of *danzō* will be proposed, which is applicable to *danzō* of different iconographic types and period-styles.

Function, which is the third constituent in the concept of *danzō*, is vital for an understanding of *danzō* as religious icons. Textual and material evidence suggests four functions of *danzō*: as icons in important ceremonies, personal devotional images (*nenji butsu*), *honzon* in temple halls, and votive images inside larger sculptures (*tainai butsu*). Each of these functions will be discussed with special consideration of issues of patronage.

1. The Meaning of the Term *Shōgon*

Shōgon (莊嚴) is a concept, which is central to the understanding of East Asian Buddhist art in general and I will argue to *danzō* in particular. Therefore, it is essential to explore the origin and meaning of the term *shōgon* before applying it to *danzō* and examining the expression of *shōgon* in the concept of *danzō*. The character *shō* (莊) means “festive, noble, a wealth of splendour” and the character *gon* (嚴) means “sacred, festive, awe-inspiring” and Dietrich Seckel has most appropriately translated the two characters as “sanctification through a wealth of splendour.”¹ It is a term which encompasses the religious and aesthetic as a dynamic, interrelated, harmonious whole.

The term *shōgon* originates in the two Sanskrit terms *alamkāra* and *vyūha*. The original meaning of *alamkāra* was not only to “adorn, beautify, add grace and beauty,” but also to “provide, make ready and fit for a purpose, prepare” and more specifically, “to put into the state of holiness and numinous efficacy by magic means.”² In ancient India, *alamkāra* originally had this magic-ritual meaning and the meaning of adornment only developed as a secondary connotation of the term. Amongst the numerous meanings of the term, regarding material things, *alamkāra* meant the making of *alam*, that is, the giving of strength required for something—things which bestow a consecrated condition upon a person such as amulets and ornaments.³ In this sense, *alamkāra* means ornaments and adornments, which are a manifestation of the sacred or spiritual and which in turn bestow consecration on their bearer. This demonstrates that although this particular

¹ Seckel, *Buddhist Art of East Asia*, p. 184.

² Seckel, *Buddhist Art of East Asia*, p. 184; Jan Gonda, “The Meaning of the Word *Alamkāra*,” in *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies Presented to Prof. F.W. Thomas* (Bombay, 1939), p. 103.

³ Jan Gonda, “The Meaning of the Word *Alamkāra*,” p. 111 and for a discussion of various other meanings of the word *alamkāra*, see p. 107.

meaning of *alamkāra* regarding material things carries the secondary connotation of the term as adornment, the original magic-ritual meaning of the term of “putting into a state of holiness” is still fully implicit.

The Sanskrit term *vyūha* has the meaning of “distribution, ordering the parts of a whole, individual description, form, manifestation, appearance, structure, group, multitudes,” to which the following meanings are closely related: beautification, ornament, beautiful order.⁴ However, the meaning of the word is “not a beautiful order for the sake of ornamentation, but rather a filling of the abstract emptiness [i.e., the desert] of [absolute reality] with variety. It may occasionally also be equated with individualisation and individual objects.”⁵ Therefore, the true meaning of *vyūha* is the dynamic materialisation of “abstract emptiness” or the sacred through an infinite variety of beautiful shapes and colours, which means that all things in existence no matter how insignificant are *vyūha* and adorn the world with their presence. At present, it is still not clear when the terms *alamkāra* and *vyūha* were used for the first time. However, both terms are frequently used in the sūtras, particularly in the *Flower Garland Sūtra* (Sk: *Avatamsaka Sūtra*) and the *Lotus Sūtra* (Sk: *Saddharmapundarīka Sūtra*), and occasionally even appear in the title of sūtras such as the *Gandha-vyūha Sūtra*.

The Chinese term *zhuangyan* (莊嚴), from which the Japanese term *shōgon* is derived, can be found in China from at least as early as the 5th century and appears in the title of a number of Buddhist scriptures and treatises.⁶ The early popularity of this term in China is

⁴ Seckel, *Buddhist Art of East Asia*, p. 184; William Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1899), p. 1041.

⁵ Seckel, *Buddhist Art of East Asia*, p. 184; D.T. Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, vol. 2 (London, 1950), pp. 151 and 206.

⁶ Helmut Brinker, “Sublime Adornment: Kirikane in Chinese Buddhist Sculpture,” *Orientations*, vol. 34, no. 10 (December 2003), p. 30.

further illustrated by the fact that the *Luoyang quielanji* (洛陽伽藍記; *Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Luoyang*) by Yang Xuanzhi (楊衒之), completed around 547, mentions a Buddhist temple in Luoyang called Zhuangyansi (莊嚴寺; Temple of Adornments).⁷

It is not clear when the term *shōgon* first appeared in Japan. However, since the term frequently appears in sūtras—most often in the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* (J: *Kegon-kyō*; 華嚴經)—one can surmise that the term was known in Japan from at least 735, the year when the priest Genbō (玄昉; d. 746) brought the *Tripitaka* (J: *Issaikyō*; 一切經) to Japan. Amongst the sūtras and commentaries in Japan, there is an infinite variety of different types of *shōgon*, which are classified in various ways.⁸ However, amongst the great variety of different types of *shōgon* mentioned, one can distinguish three broad categories according to the meaning of the term *shōgon*: first, the adornment of Buddhist deities with their own virtues and good deeds; second, the adornment of Buddhist deities with ornaments; third, the adornment of the Buddha Land.

In the first category, the term *shōgon* is used in the sense that Buddhist deities adorn themselves with their own virtues and good deeds. This is based on the idea that the Buddha body (J: *buss shin*; 仏身) and the Buddha Land (J: *butsudo*; 仏土) are interrelated to the human body and the physical world and can be “adorned” with virtues through religious practice such as ascetic discipline, meditation, wisdom and compassion in the same way as the physical body can be adorned with jewelry and ornaments.⁹ This

⁷ Brinker, “Sublime Adornment: Kirikane in Chinese Buddhist Sculpture,” p. 30; Yi-t’ung Wang, trans., *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-yang by Yang Hsüan-chih* (Princeton, 1984), p. 83.

⁸ For various types of *shōgon* and their classification, see Mochizuki Shinkō, ed., *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Bukkyō daijiten hakkōsho, 1936; reprint, Tokyo: Sekai Seiten Konko Kyokai, 1966-68), pp. 2607-2609; and Oda Tokuno, ed., *Bukkyō daijiten* (Tokyo: Okura Shoten, 1929), pp. 771-772.

⁹ Seckel, *Buddhist Art of East Asia*, p. 184.

meaning of *shōgon* is well illustrated in this passage from the *Daishūkyō* (大集經), which was translated into Chinese in the early 5th century:

The four types of *shōgon* (*shishu shōgon*; 四種莊嚴) are: first, discipline (*kaiyōraku shōgon*; 戒璣珞莊嚴), which means the Bodhisattva discarding all evil deeds with discipline. Second, meditation (*sanmai yōraku shōgon*; 三昧璣珞莊嚴), which means that the Bodhisattva gets rid of delusions with meditation. Third, wisdom (*chie yōraku shōgon*; 智慧璣珞莊嚴), which means that the Bodhisattva removes himself from any clinging by understanding the wisdom. Fourth, *dhāranī* (*darani yōraku shōgon*; 陀羅尼璣珞莊嚴), which means that the Bodhisattva possesses the virtuous law and never loses it and that although still possessing evil never expresses it. To adorn the absolute body (J: *hosshin*; 法身) with these four laws is like adorning the body with ornaments (*yōraku*; 璣珞) and therefore is called *yōraku shōgon*.¹⁰

The fact that this passage likens the adornment of the “absolute body” with religious virtues to the adornment of the physical body with ornaments, demonstrates that the original ritual-instrumental meaning of “putting into a state of holiness” of the Sanskrit term *alamkāra* is still fully implicit in the term *shōgon*. It further illustrates the dynamic interrelatedness between the two Buddha bodies—the reward or bliss body (Sk: *sambhōgakāya*; J: *hōjin*; 報身) and the shadow or manifested body (Sk: *nirmānakāya*; J: *ōjin*; 応身)—through which the absolute or cosmic body (Sk: *dharmakāya*; J: *hosshin*; 法身), which is formless, manifests itself.¹¹ The *sambhōgakāya* is acquired and further adorned through religious merit and virtues. This body is only visible to Bodhisattvas and enlightened beings. The *nirmānakāya* is the physical or shadow body in which the Buddha incarnates himself or a body, which “emanates from within himself.”¹² This is the physical body, which is adorned with precious ornaments and radiates, but only to the extent to which the *sambhōgakāya* has been adorned through religious merit. Thus the

¹⁰ Oda Tokuno, ed., *Bukkyō daijiten*, p. 771.

¹¹ Seckel, *Buddhist Art of East Asia*, pp. 11-12.

¹² Seckel, *Buddhist Art of East Asia*, p. 11.

concept of *shōgon* encompasses the *sambhōgakāya* and *nirmānakāya* in a dynamic way—as a manifestation of the *dharmakāya*, which is formless.

Both bodies are also referred to as the “form body” (Sk: *rūpakāya*) or in the Japanese equivalent of the Sanskrit term the “colour body” (J: *shiki shin*; 色身). Form and colour refer to the visible manifestations of these bodies, which can be either perceived in a physical-empirical sense as in the case of the *nirmānakāya* or in an intuitive-visionary sense as in the case of the *sambhōgakāya*.¹³ Therefore, both bodies are dynamically interrelated and harmoniously unified in the concept of *shōgon*, not in the sense of adornment symbolizing virtue, but in the sense of adorning virtues-virtuous adornments.

However, this meaning of *shōgon* does not only include the adornment of Buddhist deities themselves with their own virtues, but also extends to the adornment of various realms through the power of their virtues. This is well illustrated in the following passage in the chapter on the “Inconceivable qualities of Buddhas” of the *Flower Garland Sūtra* (Sk: *Avatamsaka Sūtra*; J: *Kegon-kyō*), which lists the “ten kinds of supreme adornment of Buddhas”:

All buddhas are able to beautify and purify all worlds by means of spiritual powers, in the space of an instant manifesting the adornments of all worlds, these adornments beyond recounting even in countless eons, all free from defilement, incomparably pure; all the adornments and purities of all buddha-fields they cause to equally enter one field—this is the fourth mastery of buddhas.¹⁴

This passage illustrates that the meaning of *shōgon* as adornment of Buddhist deities with their own virtues and good deeds also includes the use of these “spiritual powers” gained through religious practise for “the adornments of all worlds.” It strongly implies the meaning of the original Sanskrit term *vyūha* of “filling the abstract emptiness of

¹³ Seckel, *Buddhist Art of East Asia*, p. 11.

¹⁴ Thomas Cleary, trans., *The Flower Ornament Scripture: A Translation of the Avatamsaka Sutra*, vol. 2 (Boston and London: Shambhala, 1986), p. 228.

absolute reality with variety.”

The second category of references to *shōgon* refers to *shōgon* as the adornment of Buddhist deities with ornaments. However, considering the definition of the concept of *shōgon* discussed so far, these physical adornments of the *nirmānakāya* with actual ornaments are always at the same time spiritual adornments of the *sambhōgakāya*. Only in this dynamic interrelatedness of the sensual-spiritual and ornamental-virtuous can the concept of *shōgon* be fully understood. This meaning of *shōgon* is well illustrated in the *Lotus Sūtra* (J: *Hokke-kyō*; 法華經) in the chapter on the Bodhisattva of Fine Sound:

This bodhisattva's eyes were like broad, great leaves of the green lotus. Even if one could have combined a hundred thousand myriads of moons, the classic beauty of his facial features would have exceeded theirs. His body was the colour of pure gold, adorned with incalculable hundreds of thousands of merits. His majesty was imposing and glorious, his glow lustrous, his marks as perfect as those of the firm body of Nārāyana.¹⁵

The fact that this passage describes the body colour of the Bodhisattva as of “pure gold, adorned with incalculable hundreds of thousands of merits,” demonstrates that the concept of *shōgon* dynamically encompasses the sensual-spiritual, ornamental-virtuous, *nirmānakāya-sambhōgakāya* and thus provides the conceptual basis for the visual representation of all Buddhist art as a religious-aesthetic expression.

The third category of references found in sūtras refers to the meaning of *shōgon* as the adornment of the Buddha Land. In this sense the term is used to describe the splendour of the Buddhist realms. However, considering the meaning of the term discussed so far, it has to be understood as a sacred splendour, which is dynamically interrelated with the sacredness and holiness of the Buddha Land. This is well illustrated in the first chapter of the *Flower Garland Sūtra* (J: *Kegon-kyō*), in which the paradise of the Buddha is

¹⁵ Leon Hurvitz, trans., *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), p. 306.

described:

There were banners of precious stones, constantly emitting shining light and producing beautiful sounds. Nets of myriad gems and garlands of exquisitely scented flowers hung all around. The finest jewels appeared spontaneously, raining inexhaustible quantities of gems and beautiful flowers all over the earth. There were rows of jewel trees, their branches and foliage lustrous and luxuriant. By the Buddha's spiritual power, he caused all the adornments of this enlightenment to be reflected therein.¹⁶

It is significant that this passage states that by the Buddha's spiritual power, all the adornments of enlightenment were reflected in the sumptuous adornments of the Buddha's paradise. This clearly expresses the concept of *shōgon* as dynamically encompassing and harmoniously unifying the seemingly opposite realms of the sensuous-spiritual and aesthetic-religious and thus provides the conceptual basis for the visual representation of Buddhist art in which the beautiful and the sacred are harmoniously united. Therefore, it is important to remember that the concept of *shōgon* when applied concretely to Buddhist art either as the adornment of individual deities or the entire Buddha realm is an aesthetic-religious concept, in which physical adornment is always at the same time spiritual adornment and thus the adornment on the level of the *nirmānakāya* is at the same time the adornment on the level of the *sambhōgakāya*.

In this context, it is also important to examine the function of *shōgon* as a means of veneration and offering. In Buddhism, veneration (Sk: *pūja*; J: *kuyō*; 供養) and meditation (Sk: *dhyāna*; J: *zen*) are the two paths to salvation, which are intimately linked. However, whilst meditation is primarily a means for the advancement of one's own salvation, veneration is a path either for one's own salvation or, more often, for the salvation of another person, for example parents, teachers, and ancestors—either dead

¹⁶ Anne Nishimura Morse and Samuel Crowell Morse, *Object as Insight: Japanese Buddhist Art and Ritual* (Katonah: Katonah Art Museum, 1995), p. 10; Cleary, trans., *The Flower Ornament Scripture*, vol. 1, p. 55.

or alive. Thus the purpose of veneration or offering was the accumulation of merits or good karma either for one's own salvation or the salvation of another person, often deceased.¹⁷ All *shōgon* whether expressed in Buddhist sculptures, paintings, temple halls, illuminated sūtras, or ritual objects serves this function of veneration or sacred offering (J: *kuyō*).¹⁸ This function of *shōgon* is well illustrated in volume ten of the *Daichidoron* (大智度論) of the *Daihonhannya-kyō* (大品般若經), which was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva (344-413):

Buddha enters into the state of mind of fourteen transformations in the *shizen* (四禪). All the fragrant trees with flowers of the whole world decorate the land in *shōgon* and all sentient beings are harmonised and their minds are transformed to be virtuous. For what purpose is this world decorated in *shōgon*? Because it is to preach wisdom. It is decorated in *shōgon* style for the welcoming of all sorts of Bodhisattvas and celestial beings.¹⁹

The last sentence of this passage, which explains that the world is decorated in *shōgon* style for the welcoming of all sorts of Bodhisattvas and celestial beings fully expresses the function of *shōgon* as a means of veneration. Thus, the beautification of the world through *shōgon* is at the same time a spiritualization of the world as the ultimate act of veneration and offering, which in turn bestows blessing in the form of merit and good karma on to the worshipper. In this sense the splendour of *shōgon*, which contains the splendour of physical ornaments and spiritual virtues, serves to express the deepest veneration felt by the worshipper and in turn accumulates merit through his act of adoration.

Thus, patrons commissioning objects of *shōgon* such as Buddhist sculptures,

¹⁷ For a more detailed discussion on veneration and offering, see Seckel, *Buddhist Art of East Asia*, pp. 192-194.

¹⁸ For a detailed discussion of the various articles of *shōgon* in Japanese Buddhist art, see Sekine Shunichi, *Hotoke, bosatsu dōnai no shōgon*, Nihon no bijutsu, no. 281 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1989), pp. 33-80.

¹⁹ Mochizuki, ed., *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 2607.

paintings, temple halls, illuminated sūtras, and ritual objects and artists making these objects of *shōgon*, both participated in an act of veneration (J: *kuyō*), through which they accumulated religious merit. Therefore, it is important to understand that all objects of *shōgon* primarily serve the function of veneration or sacred offering and that the concept of *shōgon* is intricately linked to the concept of *kuyō*.

2. The Expression of *Shōgon* in *Danzō*

From the above discussion of the meaning of the term *shōgon* it became clear that *shōgon* is a religious-aesthetic concept, which provides the conceptual basis for the visual representation of all Buddhist art as a religious-aesthetic expression.²⁰ However, I will demonstrate that the concept of *shōgon* is of particular importance for *danzō*, since the concept of *shōgon* deeply pervades and unites the two elements of material and form in the concept of *danzō*, making *danzō* into objects of *shōgon* par excellence.

The expression of *shōgon* in the material element of *danzō* is demonstrated by the choice of sandalwood as a material. Sandalwood was a most precious material appreciated for its medical and ascribed spiritual properties in ancient India.²¹ One of the magical functions of the Sanskrit term for *shōgon* in ancient India, *alamkāra*, was the use of odours of fragrant trees—amongst them sandalwood—to drive away demons.²² This provides evidence for the association of sandalwood as a sacred material with magical

²⁰ For a detailed discussion of the complexities in the creation of Buddhist art, see Seckel, *Buddhist Art of East Asia*, pp. 177-80.

²¹ See Chapter 1, pp. 16-18.

²² Gonda, "The Meaning of the Word *Alamkāra*," p. 105.

properties with the concept of *alāmkara* in the sense of purification as adornment.

Furthermore, sūtras list sandalwood amongst the precious materials that adorn Buddhist deities and paradises in the sense of *shōgon*. This is well illustrated in this passage from the *Flower Garland Sūtra* (Sk: *Avatamsaka Sūtra*) in the chapter on The Ocean of Physical Marks of the Ten Bodies of Buddha:

Next there is a mark of greatness called cloud producing the sounds of all universes, adorned with oceans of jewels and finest sandalwood, emitting great webs of flames filling the cosmos, producing therein subtle sounds pointing out the ocean of all actions of sentient beings.²³

This passage illustrates that sandalwood was regarded as a material for *shōgon*. One can surmise that it was the combination of its physical characteristics such as fine grain, beautiful yellow or red colour, intense fragrance and its medical and ascribed spiritual properties that made sandalwood a suitable material for the expression of *shōgon*.

Having established that *shōgon* is expressed through sandalwood in the material element, it is possible to see the question of substitute materials in a different light. The choice of substitute materials with regard to their resemblance to both the physical and spiritual characteristics of sandalwood can be understood as the desire to express *shōgon* in the material element as closely as possible to the highest level of *shōgon* expressed in sandalwood. Thus the closer the physical characteristics of the substitute wood to the qualities of sandalwood such as fine grain, yellow or red colour and sweet fragrance the greater the expression of *shōgon*. Furthermore, the small size of *danzō* was a natural limitation imposed by the physical nature of sandalwood. However, the small size also expressed the preciousness of the material and became a visual indicator for the fact that the sculpture was made out of sandalwood and that, therefore, *shōgon* was expressed in

²³ Cleary, trans., *The Flower Ornament Scripture*, vol. 2, p. 248.

the material. Thus the small size of *danzō* as a visual indicator for the highest expression of *shōgon* had to be preserved, particularly when using substitute materials in order to come as closely as possible to the highest expression of *shōgon*, which was realized through the use of sandalwood.

Similarly the question of *danjiki* or colouring imitating the natural yellow or red colour of high quality sandalwood can be understood as an attempt to achieve the ultimate expression of *shōgon* through the material element in *danzō*. This interpretation of *danjiki* as a means of ultimate expression of *shōgon* is further backed up by the fact that a number of *danzō* made out of sandalwood have *danjiki* applied to their surface (pls. 27, 33, 34, 44- 46). If *danjiki* was simply a means of making *danzō* made out of substitute materials look physically more similar to *danzō* made out of actual sandalwood, it would not have been applied to *danzō* made out of real sandalwood. Thus, *danjiki* has to be understood as the ultimate expression of *shōgon* in the material element of the concept of *danzō*, which was applied to *danzō* made out of sandalwood as well as substitute materials as the ultimate adornment—both physically and spiritually (*shōgon*)—and can therefore even be understood as an “act of *shōgon*” in its own right.²⁴

From the discussion thus far it has become evident that the material element of *danzō* is imbued with the concept of *shōgon* in the choice of sandalwood for both its aesthetic and ascribed spiritual properties, the selection of substitute materials for their resemblance to the aesthetic and spiritual qualities of sandalwood, the small size, even of sculptures made out of substitute materials, as a visual indicator for the highest realisation

²⁴ Shimizu Zenzō lists *danjiki* amongst *shōgon* on the body of Buddhist sculptures, see Shimizu Zenzō, “Bukkyō bijutsu ni okeru shōgon ni tsuite: Chūgoku chōkoku,” in *Bukkyō bijutsu ni okeru shōgon*. Kenkyū happyō to zadankai. Vol. 15: Josei kenkyūkai hōkokusho (Kyoto: Bukkyō bijutsu kenkyū Ueno kinen zaidan, 1987), p. 4.

of *shōgon* expressed through sandalwood and *danjiki* as the ultimate surface adornment—both physically and spiritually. Therefore, one can conclude that the material element in the concept of *danzō* fully expresses the concept of *shōgon*.

Before examining the expression of *shōgon* in the second element of the concept of *danzō*, which is form, it is essential to provide a clear definition of this element. Form consists of style and iconography. Both style and iconography determine the material form of *danzō* and therefore have to be equally considered. Previous studies on *danzō* merely concerned with style²⁵ did not consider the fact that in Buddhist sculpture, form consists of both style and iconography and both of these elements are essential to the artistic process and to the definition and understanding of form.²⁶

Furthermore, for a definition of style it is vital to distinguish between type-style and period-style. Style can be defined as the constant elements, quality and expression of a type or a period.²⁷ In this sense, when attempting to define the style of *danzō*, it is essential to distinguish between those stylistic elements belonging to the type-style, which are constant and those stylistic elements belonging to the period-style, which are changing. This is a methodological approach that is particularly important when examining Buddhist art, as suggested by Dietrich Seckel, who states that, “the linear sequence in style phases is, therefore, interrupted or at least modified by style-determining factors which cut across sequences in time. True judgement can only be obtained by observing the interaction of type-styles and period-styles.”²⁸

²⁵ Mōri, “Heian jidai,” pp. 134-45; and Kuno, “Danzō chōkoku,” pp. 31-55.

²⁶ For a detailed discussion of Buddhist iconography and artistic process, see Seckel, *Buddhist Art of East Asia*, pp. 23-36.

²⁷ This is a modified definition to that expressed by Meyer Schapiro: “Style,” in Meyer Schapiro, *Theory and Philosophy of Art: Style, Artist and Society* (New York: George Braziller, 1994), p. 51.

²⁸ Seckel, *Buddhist Art of East Asia*, p. 217.

In the case of *danzō* it means that its type-style are those stylistic elements that remain constant during the time period under investigation in this study, namely from the 8th to the 14th century, in spite of changes in period-style. In other words, those stylistic elements, which remain constant in *danzō* despite changes in period-style form the common denominator of all *danzō* and define them as a group (type-style).

Previous studies on *danzō* concerned with the issue of style have failed to provide a coherent definition of a *danzō* style due to their failure to distinguish between type-style and period-style. Mōri Hisashi and Kuno Takeshi base their definition of *danzō* style on a small group of imported Chinese *danzō* of the Tang dynasty and Japanese *danzō* of the 8th and 9th centuries, which combines stylistic elements of both type-style and period-style.²⁹ Therefore, as they progress in their investigation of *danzō* into the 11th and 12th centuries, the period-style elements, which, however, according to their definition have not been clearly distinguished from the type-style elements and thus form part of it, change and thus their definition of *danzō* style no longer applies to those sculptures with different period-styles. Therefore, Mōri Hisashi concludes, that *danzō* do not play any significant role after the middle of the Heian period, since due to his definition of *danzō* style, he is unable to recognise any examples after the middle of the Heian period because of the change in period-style.³⁰

In contrast to this, Kuno Takeshi does consider *danzō* of the 11th and 12th centuries, but concludes, that they have lost the special characteristics of *danzō* style³¹ and particularly by the 12th century, “*danzō* became just a plain wood sculpture and the characteristics of *danzō* became oblivious and they came to show hardly any difference

²⁹ Mōri, “Heian jidai,” pp. 134-45; and Kuno, “*Danzō chōkoku*,” pp. 31-55.

³⁰ Mōri, “Heian jidai,” p. 143.

³¹ Kuno, “*Danzō chōkoku*,” pp. 51-53.

from the plain stage of gold coloured and coloured sculptures prior to their application of *kinpaku* or colouring. These factors gradually led to the decline of *danzō* style sculptures.”³² This conclusion is due to a definition of *danzō* style, which does not distinguish between type-style and period-style and therefore fails in its application to *danzō* of different period-styles.

Oka Naomi follows a similar approach of defining *danzō* style as an imported style based on Chinese *danzō* containing both elements of type-style and period-style and therefore concludes that “*danzō* style, which was an imported style, was followed, but gradually lost its characteristics.”³³ The fact that the *danzō* style “gradually lost its characteristics” is again due to the definition of *danzō* style based on an undifferentiated blend of type-style and period-style of imported Chinese *danzō* of the Tang dynasty and thus when the period-style inevitably changes in later *danzō*, the characteristics of the style appear to have been lost.

Although Inoue Tadashi’s research on *danzō* mainly focuses on issues of material, he nevertheless uses the term *danzō* style without properly defining it and argues that, “by the late Heian period *danzō* was no longer a special type of particularly holy sculpture, which was expressed in a special way. Thus, the style of *danzō* became no different from ordinary lacquered or painted sculptures and had lost its special characteristics.”³⁴ This once again shows that the failure to distinguish between type-style and period-style results in a definition of a *danzō* style, which is not applicable to *danzō* of all periods and is incapable of accommodating *danzō* with different period-styles. The pitfalls of these approaches show that it is essential to clearly distinguish between the type-style, which

³² Kuno, “*Danzō chōkoku*,” p. 53.

³³ Oka, “*Danzō yōshiki*,” p. 55.

³⁴ Inoue, *Danzō*, p. 74.

is constant and defines *danzō* as a coherent group, and the period-style, which changes over time and interacts with the type-style.

Donald Wood, investigating *danzō* of Jūichimen Kannon, has recognised these shortcomings in the definition of a *danzō* style and argued that, “the characteristics that form the basis of this so-called style, appear to constitute instead a body of technical knowledge that is characteristic of plain wood sculpture in general, rather than a particular artistic style.”³⁵ He concludes, “that artistically these pieces changed with the styles of the times, while technically the special features of wood sculptures that are manifest within them remained relatively constant. The establishment of a sandalwood style of sculpture is thus somewhat inconclusive.”³⁶

I would agree with Donald Wood that, “artistically these pieces changed with the styles of the times,” which I would like to call the period-style and some of the elements, which he calls “technically the special features,” which “remained relatively constant,” I would like to call the type-style. Therefore, I would like to propose the following definition of a type-style for *danzō*, which remains constant and interacts with the period-style:

1. Made out of sandalwood or suitable substitute materials such as *kaya*, *sakura* and occasionally *hinoki*
2. Small size and mostly single wood block construction (J: *ichiboku zukuri*)
3. Plain wood finish or *danjiki*
4. Finely carved and finished to the highest level of craftsmanship (including the use of *kirikane*) as an expression of *shōgon*

The first three characteristics partly refer to the material element and the expression of *shōgon* in this element has already been discussed. The fourth characteristic entirely

³⁵ Wood, “Eleven Faces of the Bodhisattva,” p. 356.

³⁶ Wood, “Eleven Faces of the Bodhisattva,” p. 359.

belongs to the element of form and the concept of *shōgon* is expressed through the fine and intricate carving, and smooth surface finishing to the highest level of craftsmanship.

Whilst all four characteristics remain constant, the expression of *shōgon* in the fourth characteristic changes according to the period-style as for example in the application of intricate *kirikane* on *danzō* of the Fujiwara period (pls. 27, 28, 41, 44, 56) or the revivalist tendency of carving intricate jewelry directly on *danzō* of Bodhisattvas during the Kamakura period (pls. 42, 49, 50).

However, the expression of *shōgon* in the element of form is not only determined by period-style, but also by iconography. Previous studies on *danzō*, particularly those by Mōri Hisashi and Kuno Takeshi have one-sidedly focused on style without considering the importance of iconography in the definition of the form of *danzō*.³⁷ Since Mōri's definition of *danzō* is based on a small group of Chinese *danzō* of the Tang dynasty and Japanese *danzō* of the 8th and 9th centuries, all of which are representations of Jūichimen Kannon, his fourth characteristic of *danzō*, "intricate carving," only refers to the particular expression of intricate carving on the elaborate necklaces, earrings, crowns, arm-and brace-lets of the particular iconographic type of Jūichimen Kannon.³⁸ Therefore, as Inoue Katsutoshi has argued convincingly, Mōri's fourth characteristic as defined by him, is only valid for representations of Bodhisattvas, but would not hold true for representations of Buddhas, which are iconographically required to be unadorned.³⁹

Thus, I would like to propose that the defining factor in the element of form of *danzō* is the concept of *shōgon* in the expression of intricate craftsmanship, which is expressed in all iconographic types and periods and in fact, is the essential factor

³⁷ Mōri, "Heian jidai," pp. 134-45; and Kuno, "Danzō chōkoku," pp. 31-55.

³⁸ For Mōri's four characteristics of *danzō*, see Mōri, "Heian jidai," pp. 138.

³⁹ Inoue, "Danzōkō," pp. 11-12.

determining the form of all *danzō*. Although the expression of this defining factor of *shōgon* in the element of form is constant, it varies according to iconography and period-style. Thus, due to iconographical stipulations, a *danzō* of Yakushi Nyorai (pl. 26) shows a different expression of *shōgon* in the element of form from a *danzō* of Jūichimen Kannon (pl. 39). Furthermore, due to differences in period-styles a *danzō* of Jūichimen Kannon of the Tenpyō period (pl. 36) demonstrates a different expression of *shōgon* in the element of form from a *danzō* of Jūichimen Kannon of the Fujiwara period (pl. 41).

From the above discussion, it became clear that the concept of *shōgon* expressed through the fine carving and smooth surface finishing to the highest level of craftsmanship is the fundamental defining factor in the element of form in the concept of *danzō*. Furthermore, it was shown that the expression of the constant factor of *shōgon* (type-style) in the element of form is determined by period-style on the one hand and iconography on the other. Thus, due to the central importance of *shōgon* in the form of *danzō*, the expression of *shōgon* according to iconographic types and period-styles will be a major theme to be explored in the examination and discussion of *danzō* in the following chapters. In order to facilitate this examination, *danzō* will be classified according to iconographic types.

3. The Function of *Danzō* in Ceremonies and as Icons for Personal Devotion

The third element in the concept of *danzō* is that of religious function. When defining the concept of *danzō* as religious icons, it is evident that the ultimate meaning of *danzō* lies in their religious function.⁴⁰ It is therefore the element of religious function which links the elements of material and form to the concept of *danzō* as religious icons of special sanctity and efficacy. The elements of material and form are in turn determined by the religious function of *danzō*. Thus, the element of religious function is crucial to the understanding of *danzō* as religious icons and previous studies on *danzō* have not given much consideration to this crucial aspect.⁴¹

Remaining textual and visual evidence suggests four categories of religious function of *danzō*: their use in ceremonies, as personal devotional icons (J: *nenji butsu*; 念持仏), as *honzon* in temple halls, and as votive offerings inside larger sculptures (J: *tainai butsu*; 胎内仏). I will first discuss the function of *danzō* in ceremonies and as icons for personal devotion, which appears to have been their most common function and then will discuss their function as *honzon* in temple halls and as *tainai butsu*.

The religious ceremonies in which *danzō* were used can be broadly divided into two categories: state ceremonies, which were performed for the protection and welfare of the state and personal ceremonies, which were performed by emperors, members of the imperial family, aristocrats, and high-ranking monks for repentance, personal welfare, prosperity, commemoration of the deceased and many other personal benefits.

⁴⁰ For a detailed discussion of the functions of Buddhist art, see Seckel, *Buddhist Art of East Asia*, pp. 189-203.

⁴¹ Whilst Kuno Takeshi has provided a large number of textual material on *danzō*, some of which provide evidence for the function of *danzō*, he does not use this material to specifically discuss the function of *danzō*, see Kuno, "Danzō chōkoku," pp. 31-55; Matsuura Masaki has briefly mentioned the use of *danzō* and *dangan* in ceremonies and as personal devotional icons, see Matsuura, "Danzō," p. 8.

Regarding the first category, there are a number of records that provide evidence that *danzō* were used in important state ceremonies, which were performed for the protection and welfare of the state and the imperial family.

The *Misai-e* (御齋会) or *Gosai-e*, also called the *Saishō-e*, is a ceremony conducted in the *Daigokuden* (大極殿) and later in the *Seiryōden* (清涼殿) of the imperial palace from the 8th to the 14th January every year for the protection and prosperity of the state and a rich harvest by chanting the *Konkōmyō Saishō-kyō* (金光明最勝王經; *Golden Light Sūtra*). It was an important national ceremony for the protection of the state, which started in the Nara period and remained popular until the Muromachi period.⁴² The *Engishiki* (延喜式; *Regulations of the Engi Era* [901-922]), a collection of court rules and regulations, compiled in 927, records one *gan* of a *danzō* of Rushana Butsu (Sk: Vairocana) with attendants used in the *Misai-e*, whilst chanting the *Saishō-kyō*, held at the court during New Year.⁴³ Furthermore, a much later entry in the *Hyakurenshō*, which was compiled at the end of the Kamakura period, on the New Year of Antei 1 (1227) states that *busshi* Inken and Inki made the *honzon* of a Shaka triad for an imperial *Misai-e* as *byakudan*, *hakuboku*.⁴⁴ Both entries provide evidence for *danzō* being used in imperial *Misai-e* and underline their importance as particularly sacred icons, which were used in one of the most important national ceremonies at the imperial palace.

The *Midokyō* (御読経) is a ceremony, which consisted in the chanting of *sūtras* and was held at the imperial palace in spring and autumn. The *Engishiki* lists one *gan* of

⁴² Nakamura Hajime, ed., *Bukkyōgo daijiten* (Tokyo: Shoseki, 1975), p. 382; for a more detailed discussion of the *Gosai-e* and its development, see M.W. de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan* (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1935), pp. 37-44.

⁴³ *Engishiki* (Jōkan), eds. Miyanishi Koresuke et al. (Tokyo: Kōtei Engishiki Shuppanbu, 1929), pp. 510-511; Matsuura, “Danzō,” p. 8.

⁴⁴ *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 5/3, p. 634; Suzuki, “Danzō no gainen,” pp. 175-76.

Rushana Butsu and attendants used in the *Midokyo*, performed twice a year, in spring and autumn.⁴⁵ Since this entry in the *Engishiki* is listed closely to the above mentioned entry of “one *gan* of a *danzō* of Rushana Butsu with attendants” used in the *Misai-e*, it is highly likely that these two entries refer to the same *dangan*, which was used in two different ceremonies and provides evidence that the same *dangan* was used in different types of ceremonies at the court.

The *Butsumyō-e* (仏名会) or “Ceremony for the invocation of the (13000) Buddha names” is a ceremony held in December, in which the names of 13000 Buddhas are chanted in order to purify the court and the state from the effects of evil deeds committed during the course of the year.⁴⁶ The *Engishiki* lists a personal devotional icon (J: *nenji butsu*) of one *gan* used in the *Butsumyō-e*.⁴⁷ Matsuura Masaki has suggested that this *dangan* was the personal devotional icon of the emperor himself.⁴⁸ Although this is possible, it is at least for certain that this *dangan* was the personal devotional icon of a member of the imperial family and thus, does not only provide evidence that *dangan* were treasured as particularly sacred icons for personal worship by members of the imperial family from an early age, but also that these *dangan* had a dual function as both icons for personal devotion and icons for important ceremonies, which in turn may very well have increased their sanctity and efficacy as personal devotional icons.

The *Keka* (悔過) is a ceremony of repentance, in which the confessions of moral transgressions are offered to the deity that assures the protection and welfare of the devotee. There were *Keka* ceremonies dedicated to various deities such as Yakushi

⁴⁵ *Engishiki* (Jōkan), pp. 512; Matsuura, “Danzō,” p. 8.

⁴⁶ For a detailed discussion of the origin and development of the *Butsumyō-e*, see de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, pp. 377-93.

⁴⁷ *Engishiki* (Jōkan), pp. 513; Matsuura, “Danzō,” p. 8.

⁴⁸ Matsuura, “Danzō,” p. 8.

Nyorai, Shaka Nyorai, Amida Nyorai, Senju Kannon, and Jūichimen Kannon. During the Nara period *Keka* ceremonies were of national importance and were performed for the protection and welfare of the state.⁴⁹ However, they were not only performed at the palace, but also in temples throughout the country. The *Amida kekaryō shizaichō* records the use of a *danzō* Kanzeon Bosatsu in a *Keka* in 741 and thus provides evidence for the use of *danzō* in *Keka*.⁵⁰ Therefore, one can surmise that the surviving imported Chinese and Japanese *danzō* representing Kannon were used in *Keka*—a ceremony of national importance—which further reflects the importance of *danzō* as icons of special sanctity and efficacy.

The *Godanhō* (五壇法) is an esoteric ceremony, in which images of the Five Great Myōō (J: Godai Myōō) are placed on five altars (J: *godan*), sūtras are chanted, and a fire ceremony (J: *Goma*; 護摩) is performed. This ceremony was usually conducted for the appeasement of wars, well-being and worldly gains (J: *genze riyaku*; 現世利益). However, in Japan this ceremony was mostly conducted to mark important events of the emperor or the state.⁵¹ This is reflected in an entry in the *Chūyūki* (中右記), the diary of Fujiwara no Munetada (藤原宗忠; 1062-1141), written between 1087 to 1138, which records on the twenty-seventh day of the first month of Kōwa 5 (1103), that for the celebration of the birth of a prince, a *Godanhō* was performed at the Takamatsuden and amongst the Buddhist sculptures made for the occasion were bronze figures of Gōdai Myōō and one *byakuden* Fugen Enmei Bosatsu.⁵² Fugen Enmei Bosatsu is the

⁴⁹ For a discussion of the various *Keka* and their development, see de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, pp. 249-350; for a detailed discussion of the *Jūichimen Keka*, see Wood, “Eleven Faces of the Bodhisattva,” pp. 219-238.

⁵⁰ *Dai Nihon komonjo*, vol. 5, p. 671; Morse, “The Formation of the Plain-Wood Style,” p. 187.

⁵¹ Nakamura, ed., *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, p. 372.

⁵² *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 3/6, p. 863

Bodhisattva of Longevity and its inclusion in this *Godanhō* clearly expresses the wish for the long life of the newly born prince. Furthermore, the fact that it was made out of *byakudan* further underlines the importance of *danzō* as icons used in important court ceremonies.

The *Kannongū* (観音供) is a ceremony dedicated to Kannon, which was started at the request of Kūkai in the seventh month of Kōnin 14 (823) and was subsequently conducted by the abbot of Tō-ji in the Jijūden (仁寿殿) of the imperial palace on the eighteenth day of each month.⁵³ The ceremony was conducted at the imperial palace, with the exception of a short period of interruption at the end of the 11th century, until the end of the Kamakura period.⁵⁴ Initially, a configuration of five icons was used in this ceremony, consisting of sculptures of Shō Kannon flanked by Nyoirin and Jūichimen Kannon, which in turn were flanked by Bonten and Taishakuten. However, from the 11th century, this five-figure arrangement was changed to a triad of Shō Kannon flanked by Bonten and Taishakuten. These triads were called Futama Kannon (二間観音) either because they were placed in the next room to the residential quarters of the emperor or because there were two prayer rooms (*butsuma*, 仏間) in the Jijūden of the imperial palace, where they were enshrined. They also served as personal devotional icons (J: *nenji butsu*) to the emperor or members of the imperial family.⁵⁵ From at least the 11th century, Futama Kannon triads were made out of sandalwood as *danzō*, which is evident from a request in the *Kakuzenshō*, an iconographic manual edited by the monk Kakuzen (b. 1143) in the early Kamakura period, regarding the Buddhist sculptures of the Jijūden,

⁵³ Sekine Shunichi, *Bonten, Taishakuten zō*, Nihon no bijutsu, no. 311 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1997), p. 71.

⁵⁴ de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, pp. 670-71.

⁵⁵ Sekine, *Bonten, Taishakuten zō*, p. 71.

on the nineteenth day of the tenth month of Chōreiki 4 (1041), which records “one *byakudan* Shō Kannon of seven *sun* and Bonten and Taishakuten of six *sun* each.”⁵⁶

Furthermore the Futama Kannon of Tō-ji (pl. 48), which is datable to the first half of the 13th century and thought by some scholars to correspond to the triad recorded as having been made and consecrated in the Jijūden on the sixteenth day of the third month of Jōei 1 (1232),⁵⁷ is further evidence for the dual function of *danzō* of Futama Kannon as *honzon* in the *Kannongū* and as *nenji butsu* for members of the imperial family, which further underlines the special sanctity ascribed to *danzō*.

The *Jōnichigyōhō* (長日行法), which appears to be another term for the *Jōnichisandanhō* (長日三壇法), also called the *Sandanmishuhō* (三壇御修法) is a ceremony, which is conducted at the palace incessantly for a long period of time for the protection of the imperial family or the emperor himself. It was an esoteric ceremony of three altars (J: *sandan*): the *Nyoirinhō*, which was performed by the monks of Enryaku-ji; the *Enmeihō*, which was performed by the monks of Tō-ji, and the *Fudōhō*, which was performed by the monks of Miidera.⁵⁸ An entry in the *Go Murakami tennō rinji* (後村上天皇綸旨), the *Tō-ji chōja gokyōsho* (東寺長者御教書), and the *Kanshin-ji monjo* (観心寺文書), dated the eighteenth day of the first month of Shōhei 15 (1360), states that the *honzon* of Aizen Myōō enshrined in the imperial palace was moved to Kanshin-ji and *Jōnichigyōhō* was conducted by imperial order with the request to repeat it regularly.⁵⁹ The seated *danzō* of Aizen Myōō still extant at Kanshin-ji (pl. 53) is presumed to be the

⁵⁶ *Kakuzenshō*, vol.3, in *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho*, ed. Bussho kankōkai (Tokyo: Bussho kankōkai, 1916), pp. 928-929; Sekine, *Bonten, Taishakuten zō*, p. 71.

⁵⁷ Sekine, *Bonten, Taishakuten zō*, pp. 71-72.

⁵⁸ Mochizuki, ed., *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, p. 1613.

⁵⁹ Mae Toshio and Nagashima Gyōzen, *Kōji junrei: Saikoku 2, Kanshin-ji* (Kyoto, 1981), p. 136, pl. 45; for the *Kanshin-ji bunsho*, see: *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 6/26, pp. 946-47.

very sculpture mentioned in this entry.⁶⁰ Thus, this entry provides evidence that this *danzō* of Aizen Myōō was the *nenji butsu* of Emperor Go Murakami (r. 1339-1368) or a member of the imperial family and that it was used in the *Jōnichigyōhō*, which was performed for the protection of the imperial family or the emperor. This further illustrates that *danzō* were used in important imperial ceremonies and that the same *danzō* also functioned as *nenji butsu*.

The *Kanbutsu-e* (灌仏会) also known as the *Busshō-e* was held on the eighth of April in order to celebrate the birth of Shaka, the historical Buddha. The ceremony was first held at Gangō-ji in Nara in 606 and at the imperial palace in 840 and gradually spread to imperial temples and shrines.⁶¹ Although it was not an imperial ceremony per se, it was particularly lavishly celebrated at the palace and since there is textual evidence that *danzō* were used in the *Kanbutsu-e* held at the imperial palace it seems justified to include it in this category. An entry in the *Fusō ryakki*, edited by the Tendai monk Kōen at the end of the Heian period, on the eighth day of the fourth month of Kanpyō 2 (890) records *byakudan* Shitennō sculptures made for the *Kanbutsu-e* at the palace by the monk Shin'e of Bonshaku-ji.⁶² This provides evidence for the use of *danzō* in *Kanbutsu-e* at the imperial palace and underlines the importance of *danzō* as particularly sacred images used in important ceremonies at the palace.

The above evidence has shown that various iconographic types of *danzō* and *dangan* were used in various state ceremonies between the 8th to the 14th century, which reflects the importance of *danzō* as religious icons of particular sanctity and efficacy worthy of

⁶⁰ Mae and Nagashima, *Kōji junrei: Saikoku 2, Kanshin-ji*, p. 136, pl. 45

⁶¹ Nakamura, ed., *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, p. 193; for a detailed discussion of the *Kanbutsu-e*, see de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, pp. 45-54.

⁶² *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 1/1, p. 382; Kuno, "Danzō chōkoku," p. 34.

use in some of the most important state ceremonies. It has further become clear from some records, that *danzō* and *dangan* often had the dual function as personal devotional images for the emperor or members of the imperial family and as icons used in state ceremonies. Their use in these special state ceremonies may have increased their sanctity as personal devotional icons, but in any case reflects the view of *danzō* as particularly sacred icons, which were regarded as suitable for use in important ceremonies for the protection of the state and the imperial family.

The second category of ceremonies, in which *danzō* were used, are “personal ceremonies.” They were conducted by members of the imperial family, aristocrats, and high-ranking monks for a wide range of personal requests and benefits including the recovery from illness, commemoration of the deceased, and affairs of the heart.

There is textual evidence that *danzō* were commissioned by members of the imperial family and used to pray for the recovery from illness. The *Fusō ryakki* in an entry on the twenty-first day of the seventh month of Enchō 8 (930) states that, because of the illness of Emperor Daigo (r. 897-930), Enryaku-ji was commissioned to make *byakudan* Godai Myōō sculptures of five *sun* in height.⁶³ It is possible that these *danzō* of Godai Myōō were intended for use in a *Godanhō*, in which sculptures of the Godai Myōō were placed on five altars to pray for the recovery of the sick emperor. An entry in the *Rihōōki* (李部王記), the diary of Prince Shigeakira (906-954), written between 912 and 952, states that in the eighth month of Enchō 8 (930) Prince Shigeakira (son of Emperor Daigo) prayed to the Kannon of Hasedera for his recovery from illness and commissioned a *byakudan* Kannon and a mirror.⁶⁴ Both of these entries provide evidence

⁶³ *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 1/6, p. 272; Kuno, “Danzō chōkoku,” p.40.

⁶⁴ *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 1/6, p. 278; Kuno, “Danzō chōkoku,” p.40.

that *danzō* were used by members of the imperial family to pray for the recovery from illness and reflects the view of *danzō* as particularly efficacious images, which were even chosen by members of the imperial family to pray for matters of life and death.

The *Hokke hakkō* (法華八講) is a ceremony, which expounds and interprets the eight volumes of the *Hokke-kyō* (法華經; *Lotus Sūtra*) and is divided into eight sessions (J: *hachiza*; 八座), each dedicated to one chapter of the *Hokke-kyō*, held in the morning and evening over a period of four days.⁶⁵ The *Hokke hakkō* was conducted for the first time in Japan in 791 and was popularly performed at the palace and in temples. It was mainly, but not exclusively, conducted as a commemoration service for the deceased on the anniversary of their death.⁶⁶ There is textual evidence for the use of *danzō* in *Hokke hakkō* ceremonies. An entry in the *Honchōseiki* (本朝世紀), edited by Fujiwara no Michinori (1106-1159) in about 1150, records on the twenty-second day of the tenth month of Chōhō 4 (1002) that a *Hokke hakkō* was held for the deceased Higashi Sanjō-in in the Ichijō palace and the *honzon* was a triad of a *byakudan* Amida, Monju and Fugen Bosatsu made by Kōjō.⁶⁷ Furthermore, an entry in the *Eiga monogatari* (栄華物語; *Tale of Flowering Fortunes*), written in the late Heian period, around Giryaku 3 (1067) states that Empress Akiko (wife of retired Emperor Goreizei [r. 1045-1068] and daughter of Emperor Goichijō [r. 1016-1036]) commissioned a *byakudan* Amida triad of three *shaku* in height for a *Hokke hakkō*.⁶⁸ *Danzō* were also used for the *Yokkahachiza hōe* (四日八座法会), another form of *Hokke hakkō*, as illustrated by an entry in the *Fusō ryakki*

⁶⁵ For a detailed discussion of the *Hokke hakkō* and its history, see de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, pp. 677-91.

⁶⁶ Nakamura, ed., *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, pp. 1108 and 1252.

⁶⁷ *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 2/4, p. 700; Kuno, "Danzō chōkoku," p. 47.

⁶⁸ *Eiga monogatari zenchūshaku*, vol. 7, ed. Matsumura Hiroji (Tokyo: Kadokawashoten, 1978), p. 206.

on the twenty-fifth day of the ninth month of Jiryaku 1 (1065), which mentions that a *Yokkahachiza hōe* was performed at the imperial palace by aristocrats and the ceremony was performed for Emperor Gosuzaku (r. 1036-1045), in which a *byakudan* Shaka triad and a copy of the *Hokke-kyō* written by the emperor in gold were presented.⁶⁹ These entries provide evidence for the use of *danzō* in *Hokke hakkō* ceremonies, which were mostly performed for the commemoration of the deceased. The fact that in these entries *danzō* were commissioned by members of the imperial family and aristocrats for the *Hokke hakkō* and that the ceremonies were conducted for members of the imperial family underlines the esteem in which *danzō* were held.

In addition to the use of *danzō* in *Hokke hakkō* ceremonies held for the commemoration of the deceased, there is evidence that *danzō* were commissioned and used for a number of ceremonies for the commemoration of the deceased. The *Shichishichinichi hōji* (七七日法事) is a ceremony conducted on each of the seven seventh days after death, that is over a period of forty-nine days, for the appeasement of the deceased person's soul and the ceremony held on the forty-ninth day was the most important and hence the most lavish of all.⁷⁰ An entry in the *Fusō ryakki* on the twenty-seventh day of the second month of Shōryaku 2 (991) states that for the *Shichishichinichi gohōji* for Emperor Enyū (969-984), one *byakudan* Amida Nyorai, Kannon and Seishi Bosatsu, and eight copies of the *Myōhōrenge-kyō* written in gold were made.⁷¹

The *Goshichinichi hōji* (五七日法事) is a commemoration ceremony held on the thirty-fifth day after a person's death. An entry in the *Shōyūki* (小右記), the diary of Fujiwara no Sanesuke (957-1046), written between 982 and 1032, records on the

⁶⁹ *Kokushi Taikei*, vol. 6 (Tokyo: Keizai Zashisha, 1898), p. 808; Kuno, "Danzō chōkoku," p. 48.

⁷⁰ Nakamura, ed., *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, p. 583; de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, pp. 32-33.

⁷¹ *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 2/1, p. 759; Kuno, "Danzō chōkoku," p. 40.

nineteenth day of the tenth month of Manju 4 (1027) that a *Goshichinichi hōji* for the Empress mother was performed at the palace on the thirty-fifth day and a *byakudan* Fugen Bosatsu of four *sun* in height and five life-size sculptures were made for the occasion.⁷² These two entries provide evidence for the use of *danzō* in *Shichishichinichi hōji* and *Goshichinichi hōji* ceremonies and the fact that in both of these entries the ceremonies were performed for an emperor and an empress reflects the high esteem in which *danzō* were held—regarded worthy of use in ceremonies for the most important patrons.

There is further evidence of the commissioning of *danzō* for the commemoration of the deceased in the Kamakura period. The *Butsuzō mokuroku* (仏像目録) of *Iwashimizu hachimangū* (石清水八幡宮), which was compiled in 1237, lists “one standing *byakudan* Shaka of three *shaku* in height, *honzon* of *fudan nenbutsu*, which was made by *bussshi hokkyō* Kōkaku to commemorate the first anniversary of the death of Kengyō Sōsei’s (檢校宗清) wife.”⁷³ Furthermore, according to the ink inscription on the base of the still extant *danzō* of Shaka Nyorai at Tōdai-ji (pl. 30), which was made by Zen’en (1197–1258) in 1225, the sculpture was commissioned by the monk Kakuchō (覚澄) of Jūrin-in in commemoration of his deceased mother.⁷⁴

From the above evidence one can conclude that *danzō* were commissioned and used on occasions for the commemoration of the deceased from at least the 10th to the 13th century. The fact that these important ceremonies were mostly held for members of the

⁷² *Shōyūki*, vol. 3, in *Shiryō taisei*, vol. 3, ed. Sasagawa Taneo (Tokyo: Naigaishoseki, 1935), p. 146; Kuno, “*Danzō chōkoku*,” p. 48.

⁷³ *Iwashimizu Hachimangū shiryōsōsho*, in *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 5/11, p. 297.

⁷⁴ Mizuno Keizaburo, et al., eds., *Unkei to Kaikei: Kamakura no kenchiku, chōkoku*, vol. 10, *Nihon bijutsu zenshū* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1991), pp. 212–13, pl. 90; Ota Hakutarō, et al., eds., *Nara rokudaiji taikan*, vol. 11, Tōdai-ji 3, p. 33.

imperial family, aristocrats and relatives of high-ranking monks, expresses the view of *danzō* as precious religious icons of special sanctity.

The *Shuhō* (修法) is a ritual practise, which consists of incantations and prayers, the arrangement of offerings, and the performance of a fire ceremony (J: *Goma*). The devotee performs mudrās and prayers with the aim of achieving a state of synchronism and union with the main image, which will achieve the result of what he is praying for. In esoteric Buddhism, there are five different types of *Shuhō*. However, *Shuhō* were mostly performed for the recovery from illness, safe childbirth and the protection from natural disasters.⁷⁵ There is textual evidence that *danzō* were used in *Shuhō* such as an entry in the *Chōshūki*, the diary of Minamoto no Morotoki (源師時), written between 1105 and 1136, which states that on the thirtieth day of the first month of Taiji 4 (1129) retired Emperor Toba (r. 1107-1123) performed a *Gobutsu kuyō* and *Shuhō* for which the main sculptures were a *byakudan* Aizen Myōō and a life-size Aizen Myōō.⁷⁶ This entry provides evidence that *danzō* were used in *Shuhō* and the fact that this particular *Shuhō* was performed by Emperor Toba reflects that *danzō* were regarded as particularly sacred icons worthy of use in rites even performed by the emperor himself.

The *Fudōhō* (不動法) is one type of *Shuhō*, in which an image of Fudō Myōō is used as a *honzon* to pray for good health and well-being.⁷⁷ An entry in the *Gonijōmoromichiki* (後二条師通記), the diary of Fujiwara no Moromichi (藤原師通; 1062-1099), written between 1083 and 1099, records on the fourteenth day of the third month of Kanji 6 (1092) that *ajari* performed a *Fudōhō* for a *byakudan* Fukūkensaku Kannon, which was

⁷⁵ Nakamura, ed., *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, p. 627.

⁷⁶ *Chōshūki*, vol. 1, in *Shiryō taisei*, vol. 6, ed. Sasagawa Taneo (Tokyo: Naigaishoseki, 1934), p. 228.

⁷⁷ Nakamura, ed., *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, pp. 1161 and 1452.

consecrated together with a silver Fudō Myōō.⁷⁸ This illustrates the use of *danzō* in *Fudōhō* ceremonies and also shows that *danzō* were consecrated with other images made out of precious materials such as silver, which is an expression of the concept of *shōgon*.

The *Nyohō Aizenōhō* (如宝愛染王法; *Jewel of the Aizen Myōō Ritual*) was a secret ritual, which was most probably performed, for the first time in Japan, by Hanjun (1038-1112) or Gihan (1023-1088) in 1080 for Emperor Shirakawa in the Rokujō palace and thereafter was popularly performed at the palace, in private chapels of aristocrats and temples until the end of the Kamakura period.⁷⁹ The ritual was especially conducted for positively influencing romantic relationships and safe delivery in childbirth, whilst in the Ono sect, this ritual was regarded as particularly secret and was performed for the purpose of subduing (J. *Keiai-hō*; 敬愛法).⁸⁰ Since the *Yugi-kyō* (*Yoga Sūtra*) stipulates the making of five-finger-widths images (J. *goshiryōzō*; 五指量像) of Aizen Myōō out of *byakudan*, there is textual and material evidence that such *danzō* of Aizen Myōō were used in *Nyohō Aizenōhō*. An entry in the *Gyokuyō* (玉葉), the diary of Kujō Kanazane (1149-1207), compiled between 1164 and 1203, states on the twenty-third day of the seventh month of Kenkyū 5 (1194) that *Aizenōhō* was conducted at the *Chūgū Gosho* (Empress palace quarter) on the second day of the eighth month with a *byakudan* Aizenō of three *sun* in height, which had been started to be made on the twenty-third day of the seventh month and had been finished on the second day of the eighth month.⁸¹

Furthermore, the iconography of two extant images suggests their use in the *Nyohō*

⁷⁸ *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 3/2, p. 527; Kuno, “Danzō chōkoku,” p. 48.

⁷⁹ For a detailed discussion of the *Nyohō Aizenōhō* and its development, see Roger Goepper, *Aizen-Myōō: The Esoteric King of Lust, An Iconological Study* (Zurich: Artibus Asiae, Supplementum 39, 1993), pp. 144-51.

⁸⁰ Goepper, *Aizen Myōō*, p. 145.

⁸¹ *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 4/4, p. 622.

Aizenōhō. The iconographic depiction of the *Mani hōju mandara* (摩尼宝珠曼荼羅; *Wish-granting jewel mandala*) on the small lacquer shrine, in which a *danzō* of Aizen Myōō is placed (pl. 54) indicates that this small shrine containing a *danzō* of Aizen Myōō was used in the *Nyohō Aizenōhō*.⁸² The mandala of Aizen Myōō, drawn in black ink on the inside of the lid of the incense container-shaped box of Aizen Myōō at Tō-ji (pl. 24) with three flaming jewels (J: *nyoi hōju*) at the centre, is in accordance with the iconography of the Ono sect and strongly suggests that this incense container-shaped box was used in *Nyohō Aizenōhō*. Thus, one can conclude that *danzō* of Aizen Myōō were used in *Nyohō Aizenōhō* during the Fujiwara and Kamakura periods, when this ritual was popularly performed by members of the imperial family, aristocrats, and high-ranking monks and reflects the sanctity of *danzō* used in these rituals.

In addition to the above ceremonies there is textual evidence of *danzō* being used in consecration ceremonies, in which the purpose of the ceremonies is not specified. The *Inokuma Kanpakuki*, the diary of Konoe Iezane (近衛家実; 1179-1242), compiled between 1197 and 1217, states in an entry on the twenty-ninth day of the fifth month of Kannin 2 (1018) that Fujiwara no Michinaga held a ceremony for a *byakudan* Amida and the *Kanmuryōju-kyō*.⁸³ Furthermore, an entry in the *Denryaku* (殿暦), the diary of Fujiwara no Tadazane (1078-1162), compiled between 1098 and 1118, records on the fourth day of the tenth month of Kōwa 5 (1103) that Fujiwara no Tadazane conducted a ceremony for *Daihannya-kyō* and *Jumyō-kyō* at Kōfuku-ji, in which a Fukūkensaku Kannon and a *byakudan* Aizen Myōō of five *sun* in height were consecrated.⁸⁴ These two

⁸² Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Busshari to Hōju: Shaka o shitau kokoro* (Nara: Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 2001), p. 218, pl. 84.

⁸³ *Inokuma kanpakuki*, vol. 3, p. 164.

⁸⁴ *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 3/7, p. 178. Kuno, “Danzō chōkoku,” p. 48.

entries show the use of *danzō* in consecration ceremonies and the fact that the *danzō* in these entries were commissioned by two prominent members of the Fujiwara clan reflects the importance of *danzō* as precious icons imbued with special sacredness.

Furthermore, *Shuzen* (修善) is the performance of a good deed and there is textual evidence for the commissioning of *danzō* for *Shuzen*.⁸⁵ An entry in the *Midōkanpakuki* (御堂関白記), the diary of Fujiwara no Michinaga (藤原道長; 966-1027), written between 998 and 1021, records on the twenty-fourth day of the seventh month in Kankō 5 (1008) that Fujiwara no Michinaga commissioned *busshi* Kōjō to make a *byakudan* Yakushi for the *Shuzen* of Empress Akiko (Michinaga's daughter) and on the second day of the eighth month of the same year, Kōjō presented it to Michinaga and received payment.⁸⁶ The preceding passage of this entry suggests that this *byakudan* Yakushi was made for the *Shuzen* of Empress Akiko's forthcoming childbirth.

From the above evidence it has become clear that *danzō* were used in various types of "personal ceremonies," which were held for a wide range of benefits including the recovery from illness, commemoration of the deceased, protection, childbirth, and matters of the heart.

Next I would like to discuss the function of *danzō* and *dangan* as images for personal devotion (J: *nenji butsu*). The earliest evidence of the function of *danzō* as personal devotional images for aristocrats can be found in China during the Tang dynasty (618-906). This is illustrated in the eulogy of *Xiangle Furen Tankan Baoxiang Zan* (相樂夫人檀龕宝相讚) written by the poet Lu Zhaolin (盧照鄰) in 668, in which he praises

⁸⁵ For a discussion of *Shuzen*, see Nakamura, ed., *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, p. 626.

⁸⁶ *Midōkanpakuki* (jō), in *Dai Nihon kokiroku*, ed. Tokyo Daigaku shiryō hensanjo (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1952), pp. 263-264.

the *dangan* commissioned by Madame Xiangle (相樂夫人) of the Wei family in 666, who was the stepmother of Shihu Gong (史胡公), the governor of Yizhou.⁸⁷ He praises the splendour of the miniaturised world of Sumeru depicted in this *dangan* and calls its intricate carving technique a “divine achievement” (J: *shinkō*; 神功) and uses the word “jewel like” (J: *hōsō*; 宝相) to describe its sublime expression.⁸⁸ This illustrates the use of *dangan* as precious personal devotional icons by Tang dynasty aristocrats and the appreciation of their sublime expression of *shōgon*, which could only be fully appreciated in very close contact with the icons.

Textual evidence suggests that in Japan, *danzō* and *dangan* functioned as *nenji butsu* for members of the imperial family, high-ranking monks, and aristocrats from at least the mid-8th century. The *Engishiki* lists “the personal devotional icon (J: *nenji butsu*) of one *gan* used in the *Butsumyō-e*.”⁸⁹ Matsuura Masaki has suggested that this *dangan* was the personal devotional icon of the emperor himself.⁹⁰ Although this is possible, this *dangan* was at least the personal devotional icon of a member of the imperial family and this illustrates the function of *dangan* as *nenji butsu* for members of the imperial family from an early age.

According to the *Tōdaiwajō tōseiden*, Ganjin brought a *byakusendan* sculpture of Senju Kannon from Tang China to Japan in 754.⁹¹ Since Ganjin had a special interest in the cult of Senju Kannon and is said to have propagated it in Japan,⁹² together with the

⁸⁷ Tanabe Saburōsuke, “Dangan butsu ni tsuite,” *Bukkyō geijutsu*, no. 57 (August 1965), p. 34; and Itō Shiro, “Kongōbuji shozon butsugan (Makura honzon) ni tsuite,” *Kokka*, no. 1111 (1988), p. 26.

⁸⁸ Tanabe, “Dangan butsu,” p. 35.

⁸⁹ *Engishiki* (Jōkan), p. 513; Matsuura, “Danzō,” p. 8.

⁹⁰ Matsuura, “Danzō,” p. 8.

⁹¹ *Tō Daiwajō Tōsei-den*, in *Zoku gunsho ruiju*, vol. 69, pp. 510-527; Kuno, “Danzō chōkoku,” p. 32.

⁹² Cynthia Bogel, “Ritual and Representation in Eighth-Century Japanese Esoteric Buddhist Sculpture,” Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1995, pp. 242-243.

fact that he brought this *danzō* of Senju Kannon amongst his most prized possessions on his arduous journey from China to Japan, strongly suggests that this *danzō* was Ganjin's *nenji butsu*.

In the 9th century, Chinese *dangan* were brought to Japan by travelling monks returning from Tang China, who had received *dangan* as gifts and carried them for their personal protection as one of their most prized possessions. One of these monks was Enchin (円珍; 814-891) and the function of *dangan* as personal devotional icons for monks is well illustrated in the *Enchin kugen monjo mokuroku* (円珍公驗文書目錄) of Onjō-ji (園城寺) in Kanpyō 3 (891), which lists “*dangan butsu* of one box, one big and one small.”⁹³ The small *dangan* was placed inside a small *zushi* (厨子) called *Daishi gokugen* (大師御公驗), together with Enchin's personal seal and Chinese writing paper and other personal documents such as his identification paper (J: *kugenjō*; 公驗狀) for his stay in China and his personal biography (J: *Daishi gokaden*; 大師御家伝).⁹⁴ This illustrates the function of *dangan* as precious personal devotional icons for monks. Their small size and ability to be closed in on themselves made them eminently suited for this function.

Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the still extant Tang dynasty *dangan* kept at Songgwangsa (松広寺), Sunju-gun in Korea (pl. 8) is said to have been the personal devotional icon of the National Teacher Pojo (普照国師; 1158-1210) of the Koryo dynasty (935-1392)⁹⁵ and thus provides evidence that imported Chinese *dangan* also served as personal devotional icons for high-ranking monks in Korea.

⁹³ *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 1/1, pp. 863 and 866; Tanabe, “Dangan butsu,” p. 34.

⁹⁴ Tanabe, “Dangan butsu,” p. 34.

⁹⁵ Kō Juei, ed., Kokuhō, vol. 2: *Kondōbutsu, Magaibutsu* (Takeshobō, 1985), p. 219, pl. 92.

According to temple legend, the *danzō* of Miroku Nyorai at Tōdai-ji (pl. 29) was the personal devotional image of Rōben (良弁; 689-773), the first abbot of Tōdai-ji.⁹⁶ Stylistically, this sculpture is datable to the early 9th century, which renders the association with Rōben impossible. Nevertheless, this temple legend reveals the function of *danzō* as personal devotional images for high-ranking members of the clergy.

There is further evidence for the function of *danzō* as *nenji butsu* for members of the imperial family and aristocrats during the Heian period. An entry in the *Engi tenryaku gokishō* (延喜天曆御記抄) on the eighteenth day of the sixth month of Ōwa 2 (962) states that one silver and one *byakudan* Shō Kannon were newly placed in the Jijūden and their eye-opening ceremony was performed by Gonsōjō Kankū.⁹⁷ Since the Jijūden was in the imperial palace, these sculptures undoubtedly functioned as *nenji butsu* for members of the imperial family. This entry further illustrates the popularity of *nenji butsu* made out of sandalwood, which were also consecrated with other icons made of precious materials such as silver, and reflects their special sanctity as *nenji butsu*.

The *Genji monogatari* (源氏物語), which was compiled in the early 11th century, states that the *nenji butsu* of princess Sannomiya (prince Genji's wife), who took tonsure, was a *byakudan* Amida with attendant Bosatsu, which were intricately made and beautiful.⁹⁸ It is an interesting point that this passage comments on these *danzō* as “intricately made and beautiful” and reflects the aesthetic appreciation of *danzō* for their sumptuous and sublime expression of *shōgon*, which made them particularly appealing to

⁹⁶ The *Tōdai-ji yōroku* (東大寺要録) of the year 1106 and the *Kenkyū gojunreiki* (建久御巡礼記; 1198-99) both associate Rōben with Miroku by stating that Rōben was a manifestation of Miroku, see Ota Hakutaro, et al., eds., *Nara rokudaiji taikan*, vol. 10, Tōdai-ji 2, p. 65.

⁹⁷ *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 1/11, p. 109; Kuno, “Danzō chōkoku,” p. 40.

⁹⁸ *Genji monogatari hyōshaku*, vol. 8, ed. Tanagami Takuya (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1967), pp. 221-223.

the refined aesthetic sensibilities of Fujiwara period aristocrats and members of the imperial family and resulted in their popularity as *nenji butsu* during the Fujiwara period.

This popularity of *danzō* as *nenji butsu* for members of the imperial family is further illustrated in the *Ninna-ji kita-in kuyō ganmon* (仁和寺北院供養願文), which is part of the *Gōtōtokunagon ganmonshū* (江都督納言願文集) and records that the Kita-in of Ninna-ji was opened on the twentieth day of the eleventh month of Eiho 2 (1082) and that its main image was a *byakudan* Yakushi Nyorai of six *sun* in height, which prior to its placement in the Kita-in, had been the personal devotional icon of Prince Nyūdō Moroaki (入道師明), the ordained Prince Ōomuro Shōshin (大御室性信).⁹⁹

Furthermore, there is evidence that *danzō* were gifted as personal devotional icons. An entry in the *Gyokuyō* (玉葉) on the second day of the third month of Angen 3 (1177) states that Kujō Kanezane gave a *byakudan* Aizen Myōō to a cloistered Empress as a *honzon*.¹⁰⁰ Another entry in the *Gyokuzui* (玉蕊), the diary of Kujō Michiie (九条道家; 1193-1252), written between 1209 and 1238, records on the sixth day of the ninth month of Jōgen 4 (1210) that Nakamoto nyūdō gave one *byakudan* Aizen to Kujō Michiie.¹⁰¹ These two entries provide evidence that *danzō*, which were used as personal devotional icons, were gifted amongst aristocrats and members of the imperial family.

From at least the 11th to the 13th century, *danzō* of Futama Kannon were made and functioned as *nenji butsu* for the emperor. The triad consists of Shō Kannon flanked by Bonten and Taishakuten and as the name Futama Kannon implies, these triads were either placed in the next room to the residential quarters of the emperor or there were two

⁹⁹ Itō, “Ninna-ji Kyū Kita-in honzon,” p. 11.

¹⁰⁰ *Gyokuyō*, vol. 5, in Zushoryō Sōkan, ed. Kunaichō shoryōbu (Tokyo: Kyōritsusha Insatsusho, 1998), p. 38.

¹⁰¹ *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 4/10, p. 964.

prayer rooms (*butsuma*) in the Jijūden of the imperial palace, where they were enshrined. Thus, these Futama Kannon triads served as personal devotional icons (J: *nenji butsu*) to the emperor, in addition to being used as the *honzon* in the *Kannongu*, which took place on the eighteenth day of each month.¹⁰² A *danzō* of Futama Kannon is recorded in the *Kakuzenshō* on the nineteenth day of the tenth month of Chōreiki 4 (1041) in a request regarding the Buddhist sculptures of the Jijūden as “one *byakudan* Shō Kannon of seven *sun* and Bonten and Taishakuten of six *sun*.”¹⁰³ The still extant *danzō* of a Futama Kannon at Tō-ji (pl. 48) in Kyoto, datable to the first half of the 13th century, shows the sublime splendour (J: *shōgon*) of *danzō* of Futama Kannon, which expresses their special sanctity and efficacy and underlines their importance as personal devotional icons for the emperor.

That the function of *danzō* as personal devotional icons for emperors and members of the imperial family continued into the 14th century is illustrated by an entry in the *Go Murakami tennō rinji*, the *Tō-ji chōja gokyōsho* and the *Kanshin-ji bunsho* dated the eighteenth day of the first month of Shōhei 15 (1360), which states that the *honzon* of Aizen Myōō enshrined in the imperial palace was moved to Kanshin-ji and *Jōnichigyōhō* was conducted by imperial order with the request to repeat it incessantly.¹⁰⁴ The seated *danzō* of Aizen Myōō still extant at Kanshin-ji (pl. 53) is presumed to be the very sculpture mentioned in this entry.¹⁰⁵ Thus, this entry provides evidence that this *danzō* of Aizen Myōō was the *nenji butsu* of Emperor Go Murakami (r. 1339-1368) or of a member of the imperial family and that *danzō* still functioned as *nenji butsu* in the 14th

¹⁰² For the origin and development of the Futama Kannon, see Sekine, *Bonten, Taishakuten zō*, pp. 71-72

¹⁰³ *Kakuzenshō*, vol.3, in *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho*, pp. 928-29; Sekine, *Bonten, Taishakuten zō*, p. 71.

¹⁰⁴ Mae Toshio and Nagashima Gyōzen, *Kōji junrei: Saikoku 2, Kanshin-ji*, p. 136, pl. 45; for the *Kanshin-ji bunsho*, see *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 6/26, pp. 946-47.

¹⁰⁵ Mae and Nagashima, *Kōji junrei: Saikoku 2, Kanshin-ji*, p. 136, pl. 45

century.

From the above discussion, it became clear that in Japan from the 8th to the 14th century, *danzō* and *dangan*, apart from their function as *honzon* in ceremonies, served as personal devotional icons for members of the imperial family, high-ranking aristocrats, and monks. Whilst their small size made them eminently suited for their function as *nenji butsu*, it was their sublime expression of *shōgon*—the material as well as the spiritual splendour expressive of their special sanctity and efficacy—which made them into extremely precious and sacred personal devotional icons for only the highest ranking patrons. Conversely, the fact that *danzō* were commissioned by and served as *nenji butsu* to the highest ranking patrons such as high-ranking monks, aristocrats, members of the imperial family, and even emperors underlines their status as particularly sacred and precious icons.

4. The Function of *Danzō* as *Honzon* in Temple Halls and as *Tainai Butsu*

In addition to the two most common religious functions of *danzō* as images in ceremonies and as personal devotional images as discussed above, there is evidence that *danzō* also served as *honzon* in temple halls and as votive sculptures enshrined inside larger images (J: *tainai butsu*; 胎内仏).

The earliest record of the function of *danzō* and *dangan* as images (J: *honzon*; 本尊) in temple halls appears to be in the *Kōfuku-ji ruki* in an entry in Hōki 3 (772), which lists, “one Miroku *danzō* installed in the hall on the east side of Kōfuku-ji...one *gan* of a

danzō Yakushi Butsu and attendants, one *gan* of a *danzō* of Fukūkensaku Kannon and other items installed in the Jizō-dō of Kōfuku-ji.”¹⁰⁶ This record provides evidence that *danzō* and *dangan* were enshrined in temple halls from at least the second half of the 8th century.

A number of textual sources indicate that this function of *danzō* continued throughout the Heian period. An entry in the *Settsumeishozue* (摂津名所図絵) on the fourth day of the second month of Ninna 4 (888) records an Eleven-Headed Senju Kannon made out of fragrant *sendan* of three *shaku* in height as the *honzon* of the Hodarakusan Sōji-ji (補陀洛山惣持寺).¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, an entry in the *Shoshazan Enkyō-ji kyūki* (書写山円教寺舊記; *Old record of Shoshazan Enkyōji*) on the twenty-sixth day of the fifth month of Eien 1 (987) lists amongst many other sculptures in the main hall “one *byakudan* Yakushi Butsu.”¹⁰⁸

The function of *danzō* as *honzon* enshrined in temple halls continued throughout the 11th and 12th centuries. This is illustrated by the still extant *danzō* of Yakushi Nyorai enshrined in the Kita-in at Ninna-ji in Kyoto (pl. 27), which was made by *busshi* Ensei and Chōen as a replacement for another *danzō* lost to fire. Its making and enshrinement is recorded in the *Sanzōki ruiju* (三僧記類聚):

In the Kita-in fire of 8th January 1103, the statue was lost to fire apart from the base and the part from the waist down. On 1st April of the same year work began on site replacing the image by the sculptors Ensei and Chōen. On 4th May it was completed and the eyes inserted. On 11th July 1104, the completion ceremony was performed and the remains of the old image were put inside. It was then temporarily placed in the Kannon-in.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ *Kōfuku-ji ruki*, in *Dai Nihon bukkyō zenshō*, ed. Busshō kankōkai, vol. 123, *Kōfuku-ji sōsho*, vol. 1, p. 19.

¹⁰⁷ *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 1/1, p. 81.

¹⁰⁸ *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 2/1, pp. 143 and 148; Kuno, “Danzō chōkoku,” p. 40.

This record provides further evidence for the function of *danzō* as images enshrined in temple halls during the Fujiwara period. Furthermore, the seated *danzō* of Senjū Kannon still extant at Bujō-ji in Kyoto (pl. 44) is generally thought to be the very sculpture recorded as “one *byakudan* Senju Kanzeon Bosatsu of two *shaku* in height,” in the *Daihizan engi* (大悲山縁起), which records the founding of Bujō-ji with the construction of the Sangendō by Mitaki Shōnin Sainen (三滝上人西念) and the enshrinement of the *danzō* Senju Kannon in the second month of Kyūju 1 (1154).¹¹⁰ Nakano Genzō has argued convincingly that, due to the strong link between the Bujō-ji and the Taira clan, it was Taira no Kiyomori (平清盛; 1118-1181), who commissioned the Sangendō and the *danzō* Senju Kannon enshrined in it.¹¹¹ In this context, it is interesting to note that, according to temple legend, the still extant Tang dynasty *danzō* of Nyoirin Kannon kept at Hōryū-ji in Nara (pl. 45) is said to have been enshrined as the *honzon* of the Shōrei-in, as the family icon of Chōshimaru (朝子丸), who was a retainer of Shōtoku Taishi.¹¹² Since on stylistic grounds this *danzō* of Nyoirin Kannon is datable to the second half of the 8th century, the connection of this *danzō* with Chōshimaru is rather legendary than historically accurate. However, it nevertheless reveals that at least some *danzō* were enshrined in temple halls as family icons and one can surmise that the commissioning of the *danzō* of Senju Kannon at Bujō-ji by Taira no Kiyomori may have served the same purpose.

In any case the above evidence has shown that *danzō* functioned as *honzon* in temple

¹⁰⁹ Itō Shiro, “Kyū Kita-in Yakushi Nyorai zazō (hōkoku),” in *Ninna-ji no bukkyō bijutsu*, Kenkyū happyō to zadankai, vol. 18: Josei kenkyūkai hōkokusho (Kyoto: Bukkyō bijutsu kenkyū Ueno kinen zaidan, 1989), p. 11; *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 3/6, p. 800.

¹¹⁰ Asai Kazuharu, “Bujō-ji Senju Kannon zō oyobi Bishamonten zō,” *Museum*, no. 353 (August 1980), p. 4.

¹¹¹ Asai, “Bujō-ji Senju Kannon zō,” p. 4; Nakano Genzō, “Bujō-ji Shozō no keifu,” *Kokka*, no. 926 (1970).

¹¹² Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Danzō*, p. 93, pl. 40.

halls from at least the second half of the 8th to the 12th century. However, the greater scarcity of textual sources mentioning *danzō* in this function implies that it was not as common as their function as icons in important ceremonies and as *nenji butsu*.

Next, I would like to discuss the function of *danzō* as votive sculptures enshrined inside larger images (J: *tainai butsu*).¹¹³ *Tainai butsu* are small images, which are placed in the hollow interior of larger statues together with other votive objects such as printed or handwritten sūtras, magic formulas (*dhāraṇī*) and semi-precious stones. These votive objects (J: *zōnai nōnyūhin*; 像内納入品) are intended to enliven an image spiritually and thus represent the spiritual core of a sculpture.¹¹⁴ *Tainai butsu* are either religiously-iconographically related to the sculpture they are enshrined in or even represent the same deity.¹¹⁵ Thus *tainai butsu* were regarded as embodying the spiritual essence of the Buddhist Law that would spiritually charge the statues in which they were placed in a similar way as the relics of the Buddha (J: *shari*; 舍利) deposited inside reliquaries, pagodas, or occasionally sculptures.

There is evidence for the function of *danzō* as *tainai butsu* from at least the 12th to the 14th century. The *danzō* Bishamonten at Kongōbu-ji in Wakayama (pl. 56), datable to the first quarter of the 12th century, was recently discovered inside a half-*jōroku* sculpture of Bishamonten, where it was positioned on the left side with its head located in the heart area of the half-*jōroku* sculpture. According to an ink inscription inside the half-*jōroku* sculpture of Bishamonten, this sculpture together with a half-*jōroku* sculpture of Fudō

¹¹³ Previous studies on *danzō* have not paid much attention to the function of *danzō* as *tainai butsu*. Only Suzuki Yoshihiro has mentioned this function briefly and the *danzō* exhibition catalogue of the Nara National Museum has included a few examples that functioned as *tainai butsu*, see Suzuki, "Hakubokuzō," p. 32; and Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Danzō*, pls. 90, 91, 93.

¹¹⁴ For a detailed discussion of *zōnai nōnyūhin*, see Kurata Bunsaku, *Zōnai nōnyūhin*, Nihon no bijutsu, no. 86 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1973).

¹¹⁵ Seckel, *Buddhist Art of East Asia*, p. 83.

Myōō were the attendants to a sculpture of Senju Kannon and were commissioned by the monk Ren'i Shōnin (蓮意上人; d. 1132), who was responsible for the building of the Senju Kannon-dō, in which these sculptures were originally enshrined. Thus, the fact that the commissioner of these sculptures, Ren'i Shōnin, died in 1132 and that, stylistically, the sculptures are datable to the first quarter of the 12th century provides evidence for the function of *danzō* as *tainai butsu* from at least as early as the 12th century.

There are a number of examples that illustrate the function of *danzō* as *tainai butsu* during the 13th century. The *danzō* Miroku Bosatsu (pl. 49) was found inside a wooden tabernacle (J: *zushi*; 厨子) together with a dedicatory document (J: *nōnyū ganmon*; 納入願文), two *gorin-tō* (五輪塔; Five Ring Pagoda) and *dhāranī*, which had been placed inside the head of Miroku Nyorai, *honzon* of Hokuen-dō of Kōfuku-ji completed by Unkei in Kenryaku 2 (1212).¹¹⁶ The dedicatory document inside the *zushi* states that “in the second month of Kenryaku 2 (1212), Senshin (専心) placed a *byakudan* Miroku sculpture of three *sun* in height, which had been commissioned by him and been in his possession for some time, inside the *honzon* of Hokuen-dō.”¹¹⁷ It is an interesting point that Senshin, who was Kanjin Shōnin (勧進上人; Fundraiser) of the Hokuen-dō, had commissioned this *danzō* of Miroku, but had kept it in his possession for some time, possibly as a *nenji butsu*, before placing it inside the *honzon*. This illustrates that *danzō* may not always have been commissioned for use as *tainai butsu*, but due to their special sanctity, were nevertheless deemed suitable for consecration inside an important sculpture in order to enliven this image spiritually.

The function of *danzō* as *tainai butsu* in the 13th century is further illustrated by two

¹¹⁶ Mizuno, et al., eds., *Unkei to Kaikei*, p. 201, pls. 37 and 38.

¹¹⁷ Itō Shiro, *Miroku zō*, *Nihon no bijutsu*, no. 316 (Tokyo, Shibundō, 1992), p. 58.

danzō, a Dainichi Nyorai (pl. 31) and a Jizō Bosatsu (pl. 52), datable to the first half of the 13th century. These two *danzō* were found inside a Nyorai sculpture, which was deposited with many other votive objects inside the thirteen-storey pagoda at Hannya-ji in Nara.¹¹⁸

There is evidence that *danzō* of earlier periods were used as *tainai butsu* in the Kamakura period. This is corroborated by the mid-9th century *danzō* Yakushi Nyorai at Shōji-ji in Kyoto (pl. 26), which was enshrined inside a Yakushi Nyorai datable to the first half of the 13th century.¹¹⁹ This suggests that much earlier *danzō*, due to their particular sacredness, were regarded as suitable for enshrinement as *tainai butsu* in the Kamakura period.

The function of *danzō* as *tainai butsu* continued until the end of the Kamakura period as illustrated by the *danzō* Monju Bosatsu (pl. 50) at Saidai-ji in Nara, which was found with other votive objects inside a Monju Bosatsu riding on a lion—the central figure of a five-figure configuration of the Godaisan Monju. This group was commissioned by the disciples of the monk Eison (1201-1290), who had been instrumental in reviving Saidai-ji, in Enin 1 (1293) and was completed in Shōun 4 (1302) to commemorate the thirteenth anniversary of his death.¹²⁰ Thus, the above evidence has shown that one of the functions of *danzō* from at least the 12th to the 14th century was their use as *tainai butsu*. The fact that *tainai butsu* together with other votive objects placed inside Buddhist sculptures represent the soul or spiritual heart of the sculpture, reflects the view of *danzō* as icons of special sanctity and efficacy that were considered sacred enough to qualify for the

¹¹⁸ Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Danzō*, p. 198, pl. 91.

¹¹⁹ Konno Toshifumi, *Butsuzō Kōfū* (Tokyo: Meicho shuppan, 2004), pp. 173 and 175 (illustrations).

¹²⁰ Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Danzō*, p. 201, pl. 93.

function of *tainai butsu*.

From the discussion of the element of function in the concept of *danzō*, it has become clear that this element is defined by the following four functions of *danzō*: as cult images in important state and “personal” ceremonies, personal devotional icons (*nenji butsu*), *honzon* in temple halls, and *tainai butsu*. The importance of these religious functions reflects the religious significance of *danzō* as particularly sacred icons and the fact that virtually all of these religious functions involved high-ranking monks and aristocrats, members of the imperial family and even emperors and empresses further underlines the significance of *danzō* as a special category of religious icons that were commissioned and venerated by only the highest-ranking patrons.

CHAPTER 3

***DANGAN* (PORTABLE SANDALWOOD SHRINES): MINIATURE REPRESENTATIONS OF BUDDHIST WORLDS**

Dangan are small portable shrines made from sandalwood, with a few examples made from substitute woods (pls. 18, 24), which are intricately carved on the inside with Buddhist deities showing a magnificent display of *shōgon*. The remaining Chinese and Japanese *dangan* can be classified, according to their outer shape and construction, into four categories: stūpa-shaped *dangan*, box-shaped *dangan*, temple-hall shaped *dangan* and incense container-shaped boxes. Individual examples of each category will be discussed in this chapter in terms of their style and iconography.

Despite their diversity in terms of shape and construction, they all share common features such as the small size, plain or sparsely decorated outer shape and the ability to be closed or folded in on themselves, which made them eminently suited as portable shrines or amulets for travelling monks or Buddhist laymen, who used them as images for personal worship. For these practical reasons, the simplicity of the outside completely belies the splendid decoration of the most intricate carving on the inside, where once opened the sublime splendour (*shōgon*) of the Buddhist world becomes alive—executed in an intricacy of detail with the highest skill of miniature carving technique.

The requirements of small size and intricate carving for such portable shrines made sandalwood an ideal choice as a material, since due to its preciousness, it could only be obtained in small pieces in any case and its hardness and density was ideally suited for miniature carving. Furthermore, the medical and ascribed spiritual properties of

sandalwood added greatly to the efficacy of these personal devotional icons in protecting their owners.

In this sense all *dangan* express the concept of *shōgon* most exquisitely through their precious material and intricate ornamentation, which must have resulted in a most sublime religious experience for the worshipper. Once the shrine was opened, one could almost physically enter into the Buddhist world inside—complete with the wonderful fragrance of sandalwood emitting from the shrine, which heightened the intensity of the experience.

The origin of small portable shrines seems to be in the ancient Gandhara region sometime around the 5th century A.D., since no examples from other Buddhist centres such as Mathura or Sarnath are known.¹ The surviving examples are fragments of either diptychs (pl. 1) or triptychs (pl. 2) made out of stone. The exterior is either plain (pl. 1) or decorated with Buddhist figures (pl. 2) and the interior is intricately carved with narrative scenes from the life of the historical Buddha or his former lives (Jātaka stories). The outer shape of triptychs (pl. 2) with a domed top represents the prototype for later Chinese stūpa-shaped *dangan* (pls. 7-10).

The custom of making small portable shrines spread from the Gandhara region to Central Asia, where the earliest example discovered dates from the 5th to 6th century (pl. 3), showing narrative scenes from the life of the historical Buddha and Jātaka tales on the inside, which reflects the influence of Gandharan shrines with a preference for such narrative iconography. In later Central Asian examples, this gives way to a more static iconography of Buddhist deities (pls. 4-6). The Central Asian shrines are wooden

¹ Martin Lerner and Steven Kossak, *The Lotus Transcendent* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1991), p. 109.

diptychs (pl. 6) or triptychs (pls. 3-5) with a plain exterior and an interior carved with Buddhist deities. The diptychs are of box shape (pl. 6) whilst the triptychs (pls. 3-5) are of cylindrical shape, which are the prototypes for Chinese stūpa-shaped *dangan*. These small portable shrines were carried by travelling Buddhist monks and merchants from the Gandhara region and Central Asia to China, thus introducing Gandharan and Central Asian iconography and styles to China and East Asia. In this way these small, beautiful icons played a vital role in the dissemination of Buddhist iconography and styles across Asia.

Of the surviving Chinese *dangan*, two types can be distinguished: stūpa-shaped and box-shaped *dangan*. Stūpa-shaped *dangan* are unique to China, but certainly evolved out of the cylindrically shaped triptychs of Central Asia (pls. 3-5). The inside of the individual panels of stūpa-shaped (pls. 7-9) and some box-shaped *dangan* (pls. 11, 12) can be seen as a “miniature cave” representing the same compositional and spatial problems as cave temples only infinitely more complex due to their miniscule size. Therefore, the sculptors of *dangan* borrowed and applied stylistic and compositional elements from relief carvings in cave temples, resulting in a remarkable effect of the most complex arrangement of Buddhist figures and spatial designs, which considering the minute size of *dangan*, shows the highest level of technical and artistic skill. The complexity of the composition together with the splendid ornamentation executed with the most intricate attention to detail and artistic skill, make these small altars into an expression of *shōgon* par excellence.

Iconographically, all of the surviving Chinese *dangan* (pls. 7-13) show representations of the historical Buddha Śākyamuni. Although, there were undoubtedly *dangan* of other

iconographic types, it shows a certain predilection for the iconography of Śākyamuni for *dangan*, which together with the fact that sandalwood came from the Buddha's birthplace, India, and the strong Indian stylistic influence on Chinese Tang dynasty examples (pls. 7- 9, 11), expresses the wish for orthodoxy linked to the legend of the first image of the historical Buddha commissioned by King Udayana.

The height of popularity of *dangan* in China was during the Tang dynasty (618-906) and entry number 25 of the *Xu Gaoseng chuan* (續高僧傳, *Continuation of the Record of High-ranking Monks*) states that “Shipuming (釈普明) of the Renshousi (仁壽寺) at Fuzhou (蒲州) carved dozens of *dangan* as one of his virtues.”² This illustrates the popularity of *dangan* amongst monks in Tang China and that the making of *dangan* was seen as a virtuous activity. However, *dangan* were not only popular amongst monks, but also greatly appreciated for their intrinsic beauty and aesthetic qualities by Tang dynasty aristocrats. This is illustrated in the eulogy of *Xiangle Furen Tankan Baoxiang Zan* by the poet Lu Zhaolin written in 668, in which he praises the *dangan* commissioned by Madame Xiangle of the Wei family in 666, who was the stepmother of Shihu Gong, the governor of Yizhou.³ He praises the splendour of the miniaturised world of Sumeru depicted in this *dangan* in the most flowery language and calls its intricate carving technique a “divine achievement” (J: *shinkō*; 神功) and uses the word “jewel like” (J: *hōsō*; 宝相) to describe its perfect expression.⁴

This eulogy does not only adequately describe the splendour of Tang dynasty *dangan* still evident in the surviving examples, but also reflects the great admiration for and deep

² Tanabe Saburōsuke, “Dangan butsu ni tsuite,” *Bukkyō geijutsu*, no. 57 (August, 1965), p. 34.

³ Tanabe, “Dangan butsu,” p. 34; and Itō Shiro, “Kongōbu-ji shozon butsugan (Makura honzon) ni tsuite,” *Kokka*, no. 1111 (1988), p. 26.

⁴ Tanabe, “Dangan butsu,” p. 35.

appreciation of the sublime carving technique and splendour of *shōgon* expressed in *dangan* by Buddhist laymen of the Tang dynasty. This clearly shows, that *dangan* in Tang China were greatly treasured by both aristocrats and monks as precious icons for personal worship.

Chinese *dangan* were transmitted to Japan in the 9th century by travelling monks returning from Tang China, who carried *dangan* with them as one of their most prized possessions. The earliest such *dangan* recorded is the *makura honzon* listed in the *Goshōrai mokuroku* (御請来目録)—a list of imported objects Kūkai (空海; 774-835) brought back with him from Tang China in 806 A.D. It is generally accepted that the *dangan* mentioned in this record is the very *makura honzon* kept at Kongōbu-ji (金剛峯寺) on Mount Kōya (pl. 7), which makes it the only documented *dangan* still in existence. The *Goshōrai mokuroku* records the *makura honzon* as one of eight objects, bestowed by Kūkai's master Huiguo (惠果; 746-805) on Kūkai, who in turn had received them from his master Vajrabodhi, who had originally brought them back from southern India and calls them “the tokens of the transmission of the dharma, the refuge of all sentient beings.”⁵ This illustrates that *dangan* such as the *makura honzon*, which on stylistic grounds was clearly made in Tang China with a strong Indian influence, were seen as particularly sacred icons with a direct link to India, the birthplace of the historical Buddha and were thus regarded as carrying the very essence of the Buddhist dharma.

Ennin (円仁; 793-864), a prominent monk of the Tendai sect who travelled in Tang China between the year 838 and 847, records three *dangan* in his diary, which he had received as gifts. One *dangan* was given to him by the monk Fayu (法遇) as an offering

⁵ Yoshito S. Hakeda, *Kūkai: Major Works* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), p. 146.

for his safe return home on the thirteenth day of the fifth month in 845.⁶ Another two *dangan* were given to him together with one piece of sandalwood and various other presents by the Censor Li on the fifteenth day of the fifth month in 845.⁷ This illustrates that *dangan* in China were used and presented by both monks and Buddhist laymen and that they were regarded as particularly sacred icons, since they were the only Buddhist images given to Ennin with the wish that these particularly sacred images would carry the essence of the Buddhist dharma to Japan.

The great appreciation of *dangan* by monks as personal devotional icons is further illustrated in an entry related to the eminent monk Enchin (円珍; 814- 891) in the *Enchin kugen monjo mokuroku* (円珍公驗文書目錄) of Onjō-ji (園城寺) in Kanpyō 3 (891): “*dangan butsu* of one box, one big and one small.”⁸ This small *dangan* was placed inside a small shrine (J: *zushi*) called *Daishi gokugen* (大師御公驗) together with Enchin’s personal seal and Chinese writing paper and other personal documents such as his identification paper (J: *kugenjō*; 公驗狀) while he was in China and his personal biography (J: *Daishi gokaden*; 大師御家伝).⁹ This entry shows that *dangan* belonged amongst the most precious personal possessions of monks and the intimate relationship they had with these personal devotional icons, which served their personal protection.

These records illustrate the importance of *dangan* as personal devotional icons for monks and their transmission from China to Japan, where they inspired the making of indigenous Japanese *dangan*. However, it is an interesting fact that no stūpa-shaped *dangan* nor *dangan* with the representation of the historical Buddha Śākyamuni, which

⁶ Edwin O. Reischauer, trans., *Ennin’s Diary* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1955), p. 364.

⁷ Reischauer, trans., *Ennin’s Diary*, p. 367.

⁸ *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 1/1, pp. 863 and 866; Tanabe, “Dangan butsu,” p. 34.

⁹ Tanabe, “Dangan butsu,” p. 34

were so popular in China, are amongst the surviving Japanese *dangan*. This indicates, that imported *dangan* were not merely copied but given a more indigenous interpretation. This tendency can also be seen in the Japanese box-shaped *dangan* (pls. 14-19), which apart from the example at Kōsan-ji (pl. 16), show a preference for a less complex iconography of individual deities compared to the highly complex iconography of paradise scenes depicted in Chinese *dangan* (pls. 7-9, 11-13).

Two Japanese temple-hall shaped *dangan* (pls. 20, 21), the only surviving *dangan* of this type anywhere, show the perfect unity of interior and exterior representing miniature Buddhist monuments similar in concept to Chinese stūpa-shaped *dangan*.

Incense container-shaped boxes (J: *kōgōbutsu*; 香合仏) may have been influenced by Chinese prototypes, but represent a particular Japanese form of a personal devotional icon (pls. 22-24). They are miniscule and intricately carved and seem to have been invented in the second half of the Fujiwara period representing the refined taste of the Fujiwara period aristocracy for personal devotional icons, which could be carried as amulets close to the body.

Iconographically the surviving Japanese *dangan* represent images of Amida Nyorai (pls. 15, 16, 20), Senju Kannon (pl. 17, 22), Nyoirin Kannon (pl. 14), Monju bosatsu (pl. 18), and Aizen Myōō (pls. 19, 20, 23), which were all popular deities for personal worship during the Fujiwara and Kamakura periods, when these *dangan* were made and reflect their function as personal devotional icons. The only iconographic exception is the temple-hall shaped *dangan* (pl. 21) representing the central field (J: *chūdai hachiyōin*; 中台八葉院) of the Mandala of the Womb World (J: *Taizōkai mandara*; 胎藏界曼荼羅) with Dainichi Nyorai at its centre. Iconographically and in terms of its shallow relief

carving, this *dangan* is very close to relief-carved sandalwood panels (J: *dan-inbutsu*), which mostly represent mandalas, and therefore is a unique example amongst *dangan*.¹⁰

All *dangan*, whether Chinese or Japanese, share common stylistic features, that remain constant and represent their type-style, which unify them as a coherent group, despite changes in their period-style. This type-style is characterised by small size and excellent miniature carving technique displaying the highest level of craftsmanship in the most splendid decoration and ornamentation as an expression of *shōgon*. It were these characteristics of *dangan*, which evoked the greatest admiration in their owners, monks and aristocratic laymen alike, and resulted in the most sublime religious experience when opening these small shrines and entering into the splendour of *shōgon*.

1. Stūpa-shaped *Dangan*

There are only three extant stūpa-shaped *dangan* in Japan and one in Korea. All four of them are of Chinese origin, three dating from the Tang dynasty (618-906) and one from the Jin or Song dynasty (13th Century).

The origin of the stūpa-shaped portable shrines can be found in the Gandhara region in Pakistan, where small portable shrines were made out of stone as early as the 5th century A.D (pls. 1, 2).¹¹ The surviving panels of triptychs from Gandhara (pl. 2), show

¹⁰ For examples of *dan-inbutsu* representing mandalas, see: Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, *Danzō*, pls. 11, 17, 18.

¹¹ Martin Lerner has suggested that small portable shrines were an invention of the Gandhara region, since no examples are known from the other two main centres of Buddhist art in India, Mathura or Sarnath and emphasizes the importance of these small portable shrines in the dissemination of Buddhist iconography and styles from India via Central to East Asia by traveling monks and merchants, who carried these shrines with them. Lerner and Kossak, *The Lotus Transcendent*, p. 109.

decoration of Buddhist figures on the outside as well as scenes from the Life of Buddha on the inside, unlike the Chinese examples, which will be discussed here, which feature an elaborate decoration of Buddhist figures on the inside only, with the outside left undecorated apart from a band of palmette leaves.¹² The transformation of stūpa-shaped portable shrines in their transmission from Gandhara via Central Asia to China, can be seen in wooden wings of triptychs excavated in Central Asia dating to the 6th and 7th centuries (pls. 3-5) . Notably, they are all made out of wood and decorated with Buddhist figures only on the inside, with the outside left entirely undecorated. These wooden panels of portable shrines from Central Asia form an important link between the stone fragments of small portable shrines from Gandhara and the stūpa-shaped *dangan* from China, demonstrating the metamorphosis that these small portable triptychs underwent in their transmission from the Gandhara region to China.¹³

The outer shape of the four surviving Chinese stūpa-shaped *dangan* is an octagonal pillar, crowned by a small dome, which is flat on top and seen from above forms a circle (pl. 7). The base of the dome is decorated with palmette leaves carved in high relief. They are split into a front and back part, with the front part further split into a left and right part. The back part becomes the central panel joined by the left and right front parts with metal hinges to make up a triptych which can be opened and closed (J: *sanmen biraki*; 三面開き).

¹² For two such examples of wings of stone triptychs, one in the Peshawar Museum in Pakistan, the other in the Kronos collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, see Itō Shiro, “Kongōbu-ji shozon butsugan (Makura honzon) ni tsuite,” *Kokka*, no. 1111 (1988), pp. 20-21.

¹³ For detailed discussions of these Central Asian Fragments of portable shrines and their connection to Chinese *dangan*, see Matsumoto Eiichi, “Kongōbu-ji makura honzon setsu,” *Kokka*, no. 489 (August 1931), pp. 249-54 (Matsumoto was the first scholar to pay attention to the Central Asian fragments of portable shrines and their stylistic link to Chinese *dangan*); Yamamoto Chikyō, “Dangan saissetsu,” *Mikkyō Bunka*, no. 97 (December 1971), pp. 1-2; and Itō Shiro, “Kongōbu-ji shozon,” pp. 21-22.

The octagonal shape can be commonly found amongst Chinese pagodas of the Tang dynasty.¹⁴ The dome-shaped top can be seen on fragments of portable shrines from Gandhara (pl. 2).¹⁵ However, none of the fragments of portable shrines from either Gandhara or Central Asia show the carved palmette decoration around the base of the dome-shaped top and Itō Shiro has argued convincingly that it is a decorative feature derived from Chinese four-sided stone pillars (J: *shimen butsu*; 四面仏) of the Northern Qi (550-557) and Northern Zhou (557-581) periods, which feature a very similar dome shape with carved palmette decoration.¹⁶ However, the very plain, largely undecorated outside belies the rich, magnificently decorated inside of these *dangan*, which when opened, reveal a most magnificent vision of the Buddhist world with a dazzling array of figures highly complex in their arrangement and most sublime in their execution with a richness of decorative detail, which considering the small size of the shrines, seem almost beyond human capabilities and make these small shrines into an expression of *shōgon* par excellence.

The Portable Shrine (makura honzon) at Kongōbu-ji, Mount Kōya, Wakayama

The largest and most complex stūpa-shaped *dangan*, in terms of both iconography and style, is the *makura honzon* (枕本尊; pillow-side icon), which is kept at Kongōbu-ji (金剛峯寺) on Mount Kōya, measuring 23.1 cm. (pl. 7). It is generally accepted that this shrine, which is carved out of one block of sandalwood, corresponds to the one recorded

¹⁴ For an excellent discussion of the pagoda and its development in East Asia, see Seckel, *Buddhist Art*, pp. 64-74.

¹⁵ Itō, "Kongōbu-ji shozon," p. 20, pls. 9 and 10.

¹⁶ Itō, "Kongōbu-ji shozon," p. 19, and pls. 6 and 7.

in the *Goshōrai mokuroku* (御請来目録; *Catalogue of Imported Objects*), which was brought back from Tang China by Kūkai in 806.¹⁷

The inside of the shrine shows as its main figures a magnificent triad of a Buddha flanked by two attendant Bodhisattvas—each surrounded by a group of accompanying figures. The group of six monks, depicted behind the central image of the Buddha together with two monks each depicted behind the attendant Bodhisattvas to the left and right of the Buddha make up the Ten Great Disciples of the Buddha and allows one to identify the image as the historical Buddha Śākyamuni.

The Buddha is seated in the half-lotus position (Sk: *vīrāsana*) on an octagonal dais with lotus petals. His right hand is raised in *abhaya mudrā* (gesture of fearlessness) and his left hand rests on his knee palm up holding a portion of his robe. His robe covers both shoulders and starting from the loosely draped collar, falls in an even rhythm of circular drapery folds across his upper body. The circular drapery folds are carved in high relief with an incised line along each ridge, which contrasts with the drapery folds on both arms and legs, that are shallowly incised on two sides to form one fold in the middle and thus create a strong sense of plasticity, which turns the Buddha into a visual focal point and emphasizes its importance as the central image of the shrine. The centralization of the Buddha is further enhanced by the arrangement of the drapery falling over the throne, which is divided along the middle of the horizontal axis of the Buddha's body into a left and right section of drapery folds. The arrangement of the Buddha's robe covering both shoulders with a loosely draped collar and circular drapery folds clinging tightly to the

¹⁷ Hakeda, *Kūkai: Major Works*, p. 146. For a partial translation of the *Goshōrai mokuroku*, see pp. 140-50. However, Itō Shiro has suggested the possibility that the actual *makura honzon* of Kongōbu-ji might not correspond to the one mentioned in Kūkai's *Goshōrai mokuroku* and might be, in fact, an unrecorded object transmitted from China. Itō, "Kongōbu-ji shozon," p. 26.

body revealing its contours underneath, shows the strong influence of the Indian Gupta style of the 5th century from Mathura, which can first be seen in Chinese Buddhist sculptures of the Northern Qi dynasty (550-577) and exerted a strong influence over Chinese sculptural styles for a second time from the late 7th to the middle of the 8th century.¹⁸ Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the drapery arrangement of the Buddha is in a style, which is synonymous with images of the Udayana Shaka, which represents another tradition of sandalwood sculptures, whose style had its origin in the Gupta style of Mathura in India.¹⁹ The facial features of the Buddha with downcast eyes with thick upper eye-lids; full, firm cheeks; full, sensuously modelled lips and arched eyebrows show the mature Tang style strongly influenced by Gupta elements. This style is further illustrated in the high forehead and the shape of the *usnīsa* (cranial protuberance).²⁰

The two attendant Bodhisattvas, that form the main images of the side panels, are depicted in a strictly symmetrical manner to the central image of the Buddha. They are both seated in the posture of relaxation (Sk: *lalitāsana*) with the inner leg folded pointing towards the Buddha and the outer leg pendant. They are seated on a high dais of which the foot is decorated with downward pointing, boldly carved lotus petals, which is in turn supported by a pedestal in the form of a lotus pod with upward pointing lotus petals. The Bodhisattva of the right panel wears a tripartite crown, with a small icon of a Buddha in

¹⁸ For an example of Gupta style, see Nara kenritsu bijutsukan, et. al., eds., *Saiyuki no shiruku rōdo: Sanzō Hōshi no michi* (Tokyo: Asahi shinbun sha, 1999), p. 142, pl. 93. For a Northern Qi Buddha with strong influence of Gupta style and a very similar arrangement of drapery folds to the Buddha in the *makura honzon*, particularly in the sectioning of folds falling over the throne, see Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkyō*, vol. 2, pl. 410a.

¹⁹ For a discussion of the influence of Gupta style on Chinese Buddhist sculptures, see Morse, "The Formation of the Plain-Wood Style," pp. 153-59.

²⁰ For a standing Buddha of the Gupta period from Mathura, showing these stylistic elements, see J.C. Harle, *The Art and Architecture of the Indian Subcontinent* (London, Penguin Books, 1986), p. 102, pl. 77.

the centre. The right hand (a later replacement) is raised in *abhaya mudrā* and the left hand is holding a water bottle (Sk: *kundika*). The icon of the Buddha in the crown and the water bottle identify this Bodhisattva as Avalokiteśvara, an emanation of Amitābha Buddha, whose image is represented in his crown. The Bodhisattva on the left panel wears his hair tied up to a chignon. Since both the left and the right hand, which seems to be holding a flaming jewel (Sk: *cintāmani*), are later replacements, it is very difficult to identify him iconographically. However, judging from the context of Buddha Śākyamuni in the centre and Avalokiteśvara on the right, it is most likely a representation of the Bodhisattva Maitreya.²¹

Both Bodhisattvas wear a lower garment (Sk: *dhoti*), which falls in a complex array of incised drapery folds and scarves are wrapped around their shoulders. Ribbons fall from the left and right of their head ornaments.²² Both are adorned with intricately carved jewelry: a necklace, which consists of pearls with a central flower-shaped diadem to which a pendant is attached and long double pearl strings hanging from both shoulders covering the upper body and legs, which are held in place by a flower-shaped diadem on the lower abdomen. A string with an intricately carved knot, which ends in tassels hangs from the flower-shaped diadem with the tassels touching the lotus petals. Both Bodhisattva figures are depicted with a full, round face, downcast eyes, arched eyebrows, and finely carved eyes following the style of the main image of the Buddha.

Both central images are flanked by two attendant Bodhisattvas standing in *tribhanga* (thrice bent) pose. The two attendants of Avalokiteśvara on the right panel are depicted

²¹ Yamamoto Chikyō, “Kōyasan no futatsu no dangan,” *Mikkyō Bunka*, no. 62 (1963), p. 60.

²² Itō Shirō has interpreted the scarves in a zig-zag pattern on the left Bodhisattva as flames deriving from iconographic types found in Gandharan sculptures, which, however, seems slightly far-fetched. Itō, “Kongōbu-ji shozon,” p. 15.

with their hair tied up with ribbons to a chignon mirroring the hairdo of the central Bodhisattva (Maitreya) of the left panel, whilst the two attendants of Maitreya are depicted wearing tripartite crowns mirroring the head ornament of the central Bodhisattva (Avalokiteśvara) on the right panel and thus creating variation without losing a sense of coherence and harmony. All four standing attendants wear a *dhoti*, which leaves the upper body bare and scarves draped around their shoulders. On the right panel, the attendant Bodhisattva to Avalokiteśvara's right holds a lotus bud in his raised left hand and a portion of the *dhoti* in his lowered right hand, whilst the attendant Bodhisattva to his left holds an unidentified object in his raised right hand and a water bottle in his lowered left hand. Both are adorned with a similar necklace with a pendant, although lacking the flower-shaped diadem of the main figure of Avalokiteśvara. The attendant to Avalokiteśvara's right wears the same double-pearl strings, held in place by a flower-shaped diadem, as Avalokiteśvara, whilst the attendant to his left is adorned with a single double-pearl string falling from both shoulders to the knees. The two attendant Bodhisattvas of Maitreya on the left panel wear a pointed chest ornament around the neck and a single double-pearl string falling from one shoulder diagonally across the body to one knee. The attendant to Maitreya's left holds a lotus bud in his raised right hand and a portion of the *dhoti* in his lowered left hand, whilst the attendant to his right holds a large flower in his raised left hand and a smaller flower in his lowered right hand.

Behind the Bodhisattva Maitreya two Pratyekabuddhas (self-enlightened sages without the guidance of a teacher) with their hair coiled up and their hands folded in the gesture of adoration (Sk: *anjali mudrā*) are depicted, flanked by two of the Ten Great Disciples of Buddha with their arms folded underneath their monk robes. On the right

panel behind Avalokiteśvara this arrangement is varied with two disciples of Buddha standing with their arms folded flanked by two Apsarasas (heavenly beings) with their hair tied to a chignon and their hands folded in *anjali mudrā*.

Behind each group of figures on the left and right panel a pointed mandorla with incised flames and a circular halo carved with lotus petals and an abstract circular pattern behind the head of Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara are depicted. The edges of the dome-shaped upper half of each side panel show remains of relief carving and judging from other remaining *dangan* (pls. 8, 9) must have been decorated with the most intricate scenes of flying Apsarasas amongst clouds descending from above, which unfortunately have been lost.

Each of the two attendant Bodhisattvas to Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara on the left and right panel stands on a triple-layered lotus pedestal in the form of a lotus pod—their stems issuing out of the mouth of a pair of lions seated underneath. Each pair of lions flank two kneeling worshippers wearing hats, their hands folded in prayer in front of an incense burner.²³ The incense burner stands on a pedestal with the foot embellished with incised lotus petals and the lid with a vertical flame-like pattern. The sides are further decorated with carved acanthus leaves. The arrangement of worshippers in front of an incense burner flanked by lions, is a motif that started during the late Northern Wei period (386-534) and continued its popularity throughout the Tang dynasty.

The central image of the Buddha is flanked by two Bodhisattvas standing in *tribhanga* pose on lotus pedestals. They are depicted in a strictly symmetrical manner. Both wear a

²³ Itō Shirō has proposed that it might be a reliquary and considering the fact that the *makura honzon* depicts the historical Buddha Śākyamuni, the connection with relic worship and the possibility of it representing a reliquary is not unfounded. However, the many similar representations of lions, worshippers and incense burners on Chinese stone steles, particularly of the Northern Qi to Tang dynasties makes it more likely to be an incense burner. Itō, “Kongōbu-ji shozon,” pp. 13-14.

dhōti and a pointed chest ornament, similar to the one worn by the two attendant Bodhisattvas of Maitreya on the left panel. A single string of pearls falls from one shoulder to the knee. The attendant to Buddha's left holds a lotus bud (later replacement) in his raised right hand and a water bottle (Sk: *kundika*) in his lowered left hand, whilst the attendant Bodhisattva to Buddha's right holds a lotus bud in his raised left hand and a portion of the *dhōti* in his lowered right. The strict symmetrical balance is further enhanced by the Bodhisattva to Buddha's left wearing a tripartite crown, mirroring the crown of Avalokiteśvara on the right panel and the Bodhisattva to Buddha's right wearing a high chignon tied with ribbons, mirroring the hairdo of Maitreya on the left panel. The faces of the two Bodhisattvas are sensitively carved and show an expression of serenity.

The Buddha is flanked at the back by his two favourite disciples, the young Ānanda to his right and the old, wise Kāśyapa to his left with their hands folded in *añjali mudrā*. Despite their small size, the figures are masterfully carved creating a strong contrast between the fine, boyish face of Ānanda, which is full of serenity and the wrinkled, bony features of Kāśyapa with his emaciated chest expressing the struggle suffered along his spiritual path.

Behind Ānanda and Kāśyapa one Pratyekabuddha each appears with their hair coiled up typical of this iconographic type and with both hands performing the gesture of adoration (Sk: *añjali mudrā*). Each of the Pratyekabuddhas is flanked by two disciples of the Buddha wearing monk's robes with their arms folded. This group of figures is also superbly carved, showing distinctly individual facial features. Their skilful arrangement of overlapping and the depiction of the figures from various angles creates a sense of

spatial perspective which together with the high relief carving of the figures create a strong sense of three-dimensionality. This sense of spatial depth is further enhanced by the four-layered canopy with a tucked up curtain suspended from the dome-shaped ceiling. This is a decorative feature, which can be seen in Chinese cave temples since the Northern Wei period and reached the peak of its popularity during the Northern Qi period.²⁴ Itō Shirō has argued that it originated in Gandhara and was fused with indigenous Chinese architectural elements.²⁵ In some way the panels of a *dangan* represent a “miniature cave” and it is therefore not surprising that the sculptor applied and borrowed stylistic elements for the solution of compositional problems from the reliefs in cave temples. The background behind the figures is taken up by a pointed mandorla with incised flames similar in style to the one of the side panels. However, the halo behind the Buddha’s head is much more richly decorated with lotus leaves and two circular bands. The inner one is divided into panels decorated with a flower and lozenge pattern, whilst the outer one is carved with an intricate band of lotus leaves.

The two guardian figures (Sk: Dvārapālas), which are positioned in front of the Buddha standing on rocks are vigorously carved, displaying bulging, muscular bodies and fearful facial expressions with one arm raised in a fist ready to strike and the other one close to the body for protection (the left arm of the guardian on the left is missing). In front of the guardians are two lions flanking an incense burner and underneath a band of four decorative panels (the incense burner and panel underneath are later replacements). These are the remains of a screen with intricate and elaborate relief carving that, judging from the remaining example of a *dangan* in a private collection (pl. 9), would have

²⁴ Yamamoto, “Kōyasan no futatsu,” p. 58.

²⁵ Itō, “Kongōbu-ji shozon,” pp. 22-24.

covered the entire central panel with the decoration of *bodhi* trees and Apsarasas flying amongst clouds and would have completed the splendour of Buddha Śākyamuni's world with the highest expression of *shōgon*.

The lowest section of the *dangan* is one decorative band divided into ten square niches. The central niche of each side panel, which is at a corner, depicts a kneeling demon figure with its toes curled and a bulging muscular body with an animal head and horns.²⁶ The figure squats as if struggling to support the weight from above. Stylistically similar figures can be found in the cave temples at Xiangtangshan (響堂山) during the Northern Qi period.²⁷

The two figures to the left and right of the demon figure of the right panel appear to be wrestlers symmetrically facing each other. The remaining figures have been convincingly identified by Itō Shiro as six of the Eight Spirit Kings, which were a popular motif in Chinese Buddhist sculpture from the Northern Wei period onwards reaching the peak of popularity during the Northern Qi and Northern Zhou periods.²⁸ Starting with the first niche on the left panel, they are: the Mountain Spirit King holding a rock and the Dragon Spirit King depicted with a muscular human body and a dragon-head. Continuing on the central panel: the Wind Spirit King holding a sack, the next one is missing, the Fire Spirit King holding a torch (a later replacement) and the Tree Spirit King holding a tree. The fact that the iconography of the Eight Spirit Kings was not strictly adhered to in the *makura honzon*, by adding the two wrestlers on the right panel, is indicative of works of the late Sui and early Tang periods, since the Eight Spirit Kings

²⁶ Itō Shirō has identified it as a triton. Itō, "Kongōbu-ji shozon," p. 15.

²⁷ Osvald Sirén, *Chinese Sculptures in the von der Heydt collection* (Zurich: Museum Rietberg, 1959), p. 101, pl. 30.

²⁸ Itō, "Kongōbu-ji shozon," pp. 17-18.

lost some of their iconographic coherence after the late 6th century.²⁹

Although the *makura honzon* is generally dated to the first half of the 8th century, Tanabe Saburōsuke and Itō Shirō have argued convincingly that due to the many stylistic elements of the Six dynasties under the strong influence of the Gupta style, a date in the second half of the 7th century seems more likely.³⁰ Moreover, since the proportions of the figures in the *makura honzon* already show a tendency towards the fullness of the mature Tang style of the early 8th century, I would argue more specifically for a date in the last quarter of the 7th century.

The *makura honzon* is entirely unpainted apart from the red colour applied to the lips and the black colour applied to the hair and pupils of the figures. In this way, it completely relies on the superb craftsmanship of its carving, which is displayed in all its virtuosity from the bold high relief carving of the drapery folds of the Buddha's robe to the most intricate carving of the jewelry and diadems of the Bodhisattvas. Even amongst the surviving *dangan*, the *makura honzon* represents a masterpiece showing the highest level of carving technique, the most complex composition of figures, and the most intricate adornment of decorative detail as the fullest expression of *shōgon*. The harmony and balance of its composition together with the wealth and superb execution of its decorative details turn the *makura honzon* into a miniature paradise of Śākyamuni in which *shōgon* has become a reality.

²⁹ Itō, "Kongōbu-ji shozon," p. 18. For an excellent and detailed study of the Eight Spirit Kings, see Emma C. Bunker, "The Spirit Kings in Sixth Century Chinese Buddhist Sculpture," *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America*, vol. 18 (1964), pp. 26-37.

³⁰ For an 8th century date of the *makura honzon*, see Kōyasan Reihōkan, *Daihōzōten 17: Kōyasan no nyōraizō* (Kōyasan, 1996), p. 146, pl. 10; and Matsubara, *Chugoku no bukkyō*, vol. 3, pls. 681-83. For a date in the second half of the 7th century, see Tanabe Saburōsuke, "Shōbutsugan zō," *Kokka*, no. 847 (1962), pp. 72-73 (Tanabe suggests the second half of the 7th century or the transition from the 7th to the 8th century as the date for the *makura honzon*); and Itō, "Kongōbu-ji shozon," p. 25-26.

The Portable Shrine at Songgwangsa in Korea

The portable shrine kept at Songgwangsa (松広寺), Sunju-gun in Korea (pl. 8) is a much smaller example of 13.9 cm in height and although less complex in terms of its iconography than the *makura honzon*, shows a similarly high level of craftsmanship and decorative detail. It is said to have been the personal devotional icon (J: *nenjibutsu*; 念持仏) of the National Teacher Pojo (普照国師; 1158-1210) of the Koryo dynasty (935-1392) and therefore must have been brought from China to Korea before that date.³¹ The inside of the shrine, which is made from a single piece of sandalwood, shows as its main image a triad of the historical Buddha Śākyamuni flanked by Mañjuśrī, the Bodhisattva of Wisdom riding on a lion, on his right and by the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra, the special patron of the followers of the *Lotus Sūtra* riding on an elephant, on his left.

The Buddha is seated in the half-lotus position (*vīrasāna*) with his right hand raised in the *abhaya mudrā* and his left hand turned palm up holding a portion of his robe. His robe covers both shoulders and in contrast to the Buddha of the *makura honzon*, leaves his chest bare. The drapery folds are depicted in a simple manner through double line incisions, which is a style commonly found in Buddha images at the Xiangtangshan cave temples during the Northern Qi dynasty.³² However, the Buddha's massive chest and broad face with its long deeply incised eyebrows that are almost joined and the prominently curved upper lip as well as the deeply incised folds around the neck are all typical features of the Tang style of the first half of the 8th century.³³

³¹ Kō Juei, ed., *Kokuhō*, vol. 2: *Kondōbutsu, Magaibutsu* (Takeshobō, 1985), p. 219, pl. 92.

³² Osvald Sirén, *Chinese Sculpture from the Fifth to the Fourteenth Century* (London, 1925; reprint Bangkok: SDI Publications, 1998), vol. 1, pl. 227.

The Buddha is flanked by two attendant Bodhisattvas standing in *tribhanga* pose on lotus pedestals. They are arranged in perfect symmetry to the Buddha with one hand raised holding a lotus bud and the other one lowered holding a portion of the *dhoti*. Their upper bodies are bare apart from a simple necklace and scarves wrapped around their shoulders. They wear tripartite crowns and their faces are finely carved showing an expression of serene tranquillity. Stylistically, they are closely related to the two attendant Bodhisattvas of the Buddha in the *makura honzon* (pl. 7).

Behind the Buddha his two favourite disciples are depicted: Ānanda with his arms folded underneath his monk's robe to his right and Kāśyapa with both hands folded in adoration to his left. The faces of the two disciples are finely carved, although lacking the distinctive individuality compared to the ones in the *makura honzon*. The Buddha and the two disciples appear in front of a pointed mandorla with an incised pattern of flames, which, however, is much more stylised and symmetrically arranged than the one in the *makura honzon* and a halo consisting of incised lotus petals with a pearl string border. The same type of mandorla is repeated behind Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra on the side panels creating a sense of coherence and unity between the individual parts of the triptych.

On top of the central panel above the Buddha a canopy is depicted, which compared to the one of the *makura honzon* is much more intricately decorated. A tucked up curtain is carved underneath the richly adorned canopy, which consists of a triple layer of vertically overlapping, triangular and round pleats, topped by one decorative band of pearls and one of arrow-heads. The canopy is crowned at its centre by an ornament, which appears to be

³³ Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkyō*, vol. 3, pl. 684b, c; Nara kenritsu bijutsukan, et al., eds., *Saiyūki no shiruku rōdo*, p. 194, pl. 144; p. 198, pl. 148.

a stylised flaming jewel (Sk: *cintāmani*), a section of which is depicted on the left and right.

The front of the lower section of the central panel shows the remains of a separately carved relief screen which would have once extended across the entire panel creating a most splendid decorative effect in the same way as the one on a *dangan* in a private collection in Japan (pl. 9). On the left of the screen is a part of a *bodhi* tree with intricately incised pattern, which would have been balanced by another one on the right. The base of the screen shows boldly carved lotus stems and leaves with elegantly curled up ends topped by finely carved lotus pedestals. On one of the pedestals on the left a seated lion is depicted holding a lotus stem in its mouth, which ends in a lotus pedestal in a very similar way to the ones in the *makura honzon*. On top of the lotus pedestal an attendant figure is seated in *lalitāsana*. In front of the Buddha an incense burner, which rests on a stand of stylised leaves based on a lotus pedestal, is depicted. The foot of the incense burner is decorated with finely carved lotus petals and the lid with vertical incisions similar in style to the incense burners on the side wings of the *makura honzon*. The incense burner is flanked by two figures of Brahmins seated on drum stools. The Brahmin on the left is holding a human skull in his hands as if making an offering, whilst the Brahmin on the right is holding his hands in the gesture of adoration. Both figures are finely carved showing their emaciated faces and necks as well as depicting a sense of movement, as if the two figures were struggling to keep their balance on their drum stools with one leg crossed and the other pendent. The iconographic meaning of these two Brahmins does not seem to be clear, but they are rarely depicted in the Tang dynasty, and appear to have had the peak of their popularity during the second half of the Six

Dynasties, particularly during the 5th and 6th centuries.³⁴

The main figures of the side wings, Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra, are seated in the posture of relaxation on a high dais decorated with finely incised lotus petals around the base. Their right hand is raised (Mañjuśrī's is missing) and their left hand holds a long lotus stem with lotus flower, bud and leaf (Mañjuśrī's is missing) carved in great detail. Mañjuśrī is adorned with an elaborate necklace with a flower-shaped diadem and a pendant attached to it and two chains of jewelry attached to two flower-shaped diadems on the shoulders held together by a diadem on the abdomen. Samantabhadra wears a simpler necklace with a diadem and a single chain of jewelry elegantly falling from the left shoulder to the right knee. Both Bodhisattvas wear elegantly flowing scarves around the shoulders, earrings and elaborate tripartite crowns and Samantabhadra is further embellished with flowing ribbons. Their broad faces with their full cheeks, slanted eyes with emphatically curved upper eye-lids and the long slightly curved eyebrows are typical of the Tang style during the first half of the 8th century and reflects the strong influence of the Indian Gupta style.³⁵

The two main Bodhisattvas are flanked by one attendant Bodhisattva each, standing in *tribhanga* pose, symmetrically arranged towards the Buddha of the central panel. They hold a lotus bud in one hand and a portion of their *dhoti* in the other. The attendant Bodhisattva of Samantabhadra wears the same arrangement of jewelry as Mañjuśrī and the attendant of Mañjuśrī wears the same single chain as Samantabhadra, thus creating an interesting juxtaposition. Both wear elaborate tripartite crowns and have crisply carved

³⁴ For two seated brahmans in cave no. 9 at Yungang of the Northern Wei dynasty, see Sirén, *Chinese Buddhist Sculptures*, vol. 1, pl. 36. For a gilt bronze figure of a standing Brahman holding a human skull dated to the second half of 6th century, see René-Yvon Lefebvre d'Argencé, ed., *Chinese, Korean and Japanese Sculpture in the Avery Brundage Collection* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1974), p. 128, pl. 54.

³⁵ Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkyō*, vol. 3, pls. 671; 701a, c; 705a.

faces with clearly defined features. Both stand on lotus pedestals that grow out of elaborately carved lotus stems with petals. In front of Mañjuśrī an incense burner of the same type as the one in front of the Buddha is supported by lotus petals and stands on the back of the lion. In front of Samantabhadra a small figure, that appears to be an elephant handler, squats on the back of the elephant holding up a *cintāmani*. Both Bodhisattvas are accompanied by grooms that appear to be of Indian or Central Asian origin: Mañjuśrī by a muscular figure with a bulging chest similar to an Indian Yaksha, that appears to guide the lion with his left hand and holds a whip in his right hand; Samantabhadra by a dwarf-like figure with curly hair and large facial features supporting the pedestal on which Samantabhadra's foot rests with his left hand.³⁶ The base of each side wing is intricately carved with a band of lotus petals.

The upper part of each side wing is embellished with a most elaborate canopy (J: *tengai*; 天蓋) depicted three-dimensionally at an angle of 90 degrees. It is most intricately decorated with tucked up curtains and pearl-strings hung in four semi-circles underneath a triple layer of vertically folded, triangular and circular pleats, topped by one decorative band of pearls and one of arrow-heads, following the same decorative pattern as the canopy of the central panel and thus creating a visual unity between the three panels. The three corners of the canopy are decorated with ornaments of stylised flaming jewels, of which only the one facing the viewer is fully depicted, whilst the other two due to the corners are only half depicted and thus, create a sense of perspective and space. The dome shape of the canopy beautifully mirrors the dome shape of the shrine and in this way heightens the sense of three-dimensional space. This sense of space is further

³⁶ Nakayoshi Isao has rightly pointed out that this figure is very similar to the one depicted on the base of the throne of the bronze figure of Yakushi Nyorai at the Yakushi-ji in Nara. Nakayoshi Isao, "Shōkō-ji sanzō butsuganzō," *Bijutsu Kenkyū*, no. 10 (1953), p.58.

enhanced by a group of three Apsarasas flying above the canopies with elegantly flowing scarves, some of them playing musical instruments, perfecting the decorative splendour (*shōgon*) of the paradise scene.

This *dangan* manages to create a three-dimensional “heavenly palace” within a miniature shrine. Through the most elaborate decoration of *shōgon* and the most sublime carving technique, it creates a three-dimensional Buddhist world of the greatest artistic perfection in the smallest possible space imaginable. Although this *dangan*, similarly to the *makura honzon*, has got a number of stylistic features of the late Six Dynasties with a strong Indian Gupta influence, it overall shows a slightly more mature Tang style in a number of features as pointed out and therefore points to a date in the first half of the 8th century.

The Portable Sandalwood Shrine in a Private Collection, Mie Prefecture

The portable shrine in a private collection in Japan with a height of only 11 cm. (pl. 9), which is carved from one small piece of sandalwood, is the smallest surviving example of a stūpa-shaped *dangan*. The middle section of each of the three panels is decorated with a group of five figures consisting of a seated Buddha flanked by two Bodhisattvas and two monks creating a sense of balance and symmetry between the three panels.

The main image of the central panel shows the historical Buddha Śākyamuni seated in *vīrāsana* with his right hand raised in *abhaya mudrā* and his left hand resting palm up on his knee holding a portion of his robe. The Buddha’s robe covers both shoulders leaving his chest bare in the same style as that of the Buddha in the Songgwangsa shrine.

It is depicted in a complex pattern of carved and incised drapery folds conveying a sense of the heavy fabric of the robe, which is even more pronounced on the part spilling over the dais in relief-carved, U-shaped folds. The dais consists of an octagonal base decorated with finely incised lotus petals around the foot. The broad face of the Buddha with its finely carved downcast eyes and small mouth has an expression of deep tranquillity and peace. The style of his facial features, arrangement of the robe and dais are typical of the Tang style of the first half of the 8th century.³⁷

The Buddha is flanked by two Bodhisattvas standing on lotus pedestals in *tribhanga* pose. One of their hands is raised holding a lotus bud, the other one is lowered holding a portion of the *dhoti*. They are both adorned with a necklace and one pearl string hanging elegantly from one shoulder. Their faces are crisply carved showing delicate features. Their hair is piled up in two coils to a high chignon, which is indicative of the mature Tang style of the first half of the 8th century and distinctly different from the earlier type of chignon worn by the Bodhisattvas of the *makura honzon* (pl. 7).³⁸

Behind the Buddha his two favourite disciples, Ānanda and Kāśyapa wearing monk's robes are depicted. Despite their minute size their faces are crisply carved showing an expression of inner peace. The background behind them is decorated with a pointed mandorla with an incised flame pattern and individual haloes with double line incisions for the two disciples and a more elaborate halo with incised lotus petals for the Buddha.

Above the niche of the central panel, which contains the five figures, a tucked up curtain underneath a highly stylised canopy consisting of three layers of vertical pleats is depicted—a pattern which is repeated in four layers at the base of the central panel. This

³⁷ Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkyō*, vol. 3, pls. 708, 709a, 711.

³⁸ Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkyō*, vol. 3, pls. 700a, 736, 738.

is stylistically very similar to the central panel of the *makura honzon*.

The central panel is further decorated with a separately carved, detachable relief screen, which unlike the ones of the *makura honzon* and the Songgwangsa shrine, is almost intact. The screen is most intricately carved and considering its miniature size, is a sublime artistic achievement reflecting the highest level of craftsmanship. The base of the relief screen shows two squares separated by pearl-string borders with two seated lions, very similar in style to the lions on the relief screen of the *makura honzon*. On top of the two square niches two kneeling attendant Bodhisattvas are intricately carved with their hands folded in adoration turned towards the Buddha. They are flanked by two wrathful Dvārapālas standing on rocks, which create an interesting juxtaposition to the pious Bodhisattvas. Beside the two Dvārapālas and behind the two Bodhisattvas, two intricately carved *bodhi* trees with intertwined dragons stand to the left and right of the central Buddha. The two dragons with their rear leg standing on a branch twist their bodies tightly around the trunk of the trees conveying a sense of tension and movement, that would be difficult to depict on a large surface let apart in miniature size, and display the highest level of miniature carving skill. The crowns of the trees are executed with the same exacting skill and show the most elaborately carved decoration of intertwined flowers, branches, a monster mask, and two flying Apsarasas. The entire screen is a masterpiece of miniature carving and shows the concept of *shōgon* in its highest form. However, it is interesting to point out that the screen contains two stylistic elements of the Northern Qi dynasty, that are usually not found in Tang dynasty sculptures: the intertwined dragons with *bodhi* trees and the monster-mask with a string issuing out of its

mouth.³⁹ This small shrine is similar to both the *makura honzon* and the Songgwangsa shrine and shows a rather orthodox style, since it contains many stylistic elements of the earlier Six Dynasties, the Northern Qi dynasty in particular, which are not found on other Tang dynasty sculptures.

The main image of the two side wings shows a Buddha seated in the European manner his feet supported by two lotus pedestals rising from the base of his throne. Both seem to have had their hands arranged symmetrical to the central panel: The inner hand is raised holding a portion of the robe (the one of the right Buddha is missing) and the outer arm with the hand resting on the knee (the one of the left Buddha is missing). The left Buddha's robe is covering both shoulders with a thick, loosely falling collar similar to the one of the Buddha in the *makura honzon* and the right Buddha's robe is covering the left shoulder leaving the right one bare. Both feature drapery folds depicted in double line incisions similar in technique to the ones seen on the Buddha of the Songgwangsa shrine. Usually the posture of sitting in the European manner is characteristic of Maitreya, the Buddha of the Future, although there are also representations of the Buddha Śākyamuni in this posture.⁴⁰ Therefore, one can surmise that one of the Buddhas of the side wings represents the historical Buddha Śākyamuni juxtaposed by the Buddha of the Future, Maitreya.

Both Buddhas are flanked by two Bodhisattvas and two disciples, which are similar in style and execution to the ones on the central panel. Thus the repetition of this configuration on all three panels creates a sense of balance and harmony. The lower part

³⁹ For Northern Qi dynasty steles with *bodhi* trees and intertwined dragons, see Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkyō*, vol. 2, pls. 392a, 430b. For a monster mask as the diadem of a Bodhisattva, see Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkyō*, vol. 2, pl. 559.

⁴⁰ For a representation of a Tang dynasty sculpture of Śākyamuni seated in the European manner, see d'Argencé, ed., *Chinese, Korean and Japanese Sculpture*, p. 184, pl. 87.

of each side wing with the arrangement of an incense burner flanked by a pair of lions out of whose mouth lotus stems are issuing that end in lotus pedestals as well as the division of the base underneath the lions into three niches, decorated with one figure each, is very similar to the structure of the lower parts of the side wings in the *makura honzon*. To this similarity in structure can be added the similarity in style: the four lions are very similar to the ones on the left wing of the *makura honzon*, the incense burner of the right wing (the one on the left wing is missing) shows similarly elaborate acanthus leaves as the ones on the *makura honzon* and the three square niches are separated by the same pearl-string borders. The figure of the central niche on the corner is depicted squatting in the same manner as the demon figure of the *makura honzon*, although it has a human face with a more benign expression and wears a flying scarve, which shows that it lost its original meaning as a corner support still seen in the *makura honzon*. The two figures of the first and third niche of the left wing are depicted in exactly the same poses and style as the two wrestlers on the right wing of the *makura honzon*, although displaying a greater softness. The two figures of the first and third niche of the right wing, with one arm raised holding an attribute, are closely related to the Mountain Spirit King holding a piece of rock in his raised hand, in the first niche on the left wing of the *makura honzon*. These elements may well have been copied from a *dangan* similar to the *makura honzon*.

Furthermore, it is interesting that the upper part of the left wing (the upper part of the right wing was lost in a fire), shows a similar structure of an elaborately decorated canopy with a flying Apsaras (the other Apsarasas are missing) as the side wings of the *dangan* kept at Songgwangsa (pl. 8). The canopy is intricately carved with similar stylistic elements with only slight variations such as the tucked up curtains on the sides,

hanging pearl-strings, which unlike the ones on the Songgwangsa shrine, are held in place by two discs. The actual canopy consisting of a triple-layer of triangular and circular pleats, topped by a band of pearl-strings and two stylised ornaments of flaming jewels—a portion of which can be seen in the left corner—are all very similar in style to the ones of the Songgwangsa shrine.

The fact, that this *dangan* is made up of a composite style of the *makura honzon* in the lower section of its side wings and the upper and lower section of its central panel and of the Songgwangsa shrine in the upper section of its side wings (right one is missing), points to the possibility that these small shrines were copied from particular prototypes and different stylistic elements were borrowed freely and were newly combined by the sculptors. The existence of such prototypes from which other *dangan* were copied might also explain the many early stylistic elements of the Six Dynasties, particularly the Northern Qi dynasty, that can be found in the *makura honzon*, the Songgwangsa shrine and the one under discussion, which cannot be found in any other Tang sculptures of this period.⁴¹

Apart from the red on the lips of the figures and the snouts of the lions, the blue on the hair of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas as well as the black on the eyebrows, which have all been effectively applied to create a clearer expression of the minute figures, the *dangan* is unpainted in order to give room to the superb carving of the decorative splendour so eloquently expressed, particularly in the detachable relief screen, which gives the highest expression of the concept of *shōgon* in the smallest size imaginable. Due to the style of the Buddha and Bodhisattva figures discussed above and the stylistic

⁴¹ The idea of prototypes, from which *dangan* were copied is also suggested by Itō Shiro in connection with the *makura honzon*, see Itō, “Kongōbu-ji shozon,” p. 24.

elements close to the *makura honzon* and Songgwangsa shrine, this shrine is datable to the second quarter of the 8th century.⁴²

The Portable Shrine at Chion-in, Kyoto

Octagonal stūpa-shaped *dangan* continued to be made in China until at least the Jin or Southern Song dynasty (1127-1279), which can be seen by the example kept at Chion-in (知恩院) in Kyoto (pl. 10), measuring 20.9 cm in height. It is made out of sandalwood. The central panel is divided into three niches. The upper niche shows a seated Buddha Śākyamuni with his hands resting in *dhyāna mudrā* (gesture of meditation) in his lap. His robe covers both shoulders and is finely incised with drapery folds that also cover the upper part of the lotus throne. His face is crisply carved and has an expression of deep serenity. His facial features, arrangement of hair, *usnīsa* (cranial protuberance) and the small disk or mound in front of the *usnīsa* show a Song dynasty (960-1279) style.⁴³

The Buddha is flanked by his two favourite disciples, Ānanda and Kāśyapa, wearing monk's robes and their hands folded in adoration. Their robes are intricately carved and incised conveying a realistic sense of the fabric.

The central niche shows an altar with an incense burner decorated with carved lotus petals. The altar is flanked by two Bodhisattvas wearing intricately carved crowns and robes with both hands folded in *añjali mudrā*. The lowest niche is occupied by two

⁴² Matsubara Saburō has suggested a date in the mid-9th century, which considered in the context of the evidence presented, does not seem convincing, see Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkyō*, vol. 3, pl. 777.

⁴³ For a wooden seated Buddha of similar style dated to the Song dynasty, see Alan Priest, *Chinese Sculpture in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1944), p. 46, no. 63.

standing guardians wearing helmets and armours—their hands resting on swords held in front of their bodies.

Each side wing is divided into four niches carved in the shape of caves. The three upper niches of both wings are occupied by the sixteen Arhats (C: Luohan). They are arranged in groups of two and three and are intricately carved with individual facial features. The lowest niche on both wings show two representations of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (C: Guanyin). The one on the right wing is seated on a rock in the posture of “royal ease” (Sk: *mahārajalilāsana*), which is an iconographic form that became particularly popular during the Song dynasty. The style of the crown, facial features, scarf and folds of the *dhoti* show the typical features of the Song and Jin dynasties.⁴⁴

The shrine is entirely unpainted and although it does not display the exuberant decoration of the earlier examples, still displays a high level of craftsmanship and diligence, which can be seen in the crisp carving of the faces showing the facial features clearly. This is further illustrated in the fine carving of the armour of the guardians and the varied drapery patterns of the Arhats. All the figures show a smooth, polished surface, which adds to the simple, but elegant expression of this shrine.

Considering the iconography of the sixteen Arhats and Avalokiteśvara seated in the posture of “royal ease”, which are typical iconographic themes of the Song dynasty together with the Song style of the figures, suggest a date in the 13th century for this shrine.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Sirén, *Chinese Sculpture*, vol. 2, pl. 568. For a stylistically related stone stele of a Bodhisattva in a carved niche with three seated luohans, dated to the Jin dynasty (1131), see Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkyō*, vol. 3, pl. 841.

⁴⁵ A stylistically related, although slightly earlier shrine, dated to the 10th to 11th century is in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, see Hiram W. Woodward, “An overview of Asian Art at the Walters Art Gallery,” *Oriental Magazine* (April 1991), p. 35, fig. 6.

In conclusion one can say that stūpa-shaped *dangan*, with their outer shape in the form of a stūpa, the ultimate symbol of the historical Buddha's parinirvana, and their inside intricately decorated with the world of the historical Buddha, form a perfect iconographic and symbolic unity. They are miniature Buddhist monuments, which due to their small size and plain, almost undecorated outside, were ideal to be carried on travel, but at the same time their ingenious construction protected the precious carving and fragrance of the sandalwood on the inside. When opened, these miniature Buddhist monuments allow the worshipper to enter into the almost three-dimensional paradise of Śākyamuni, which is adorned with a decorative splendour (*shōgon*) of a refinement and perfection that is unprecedented. This visual splendour together with the sweet fragrance of the sandalwood must have resulted in a deep religious experience for the individual worshipper, in which the paradise of Śākyamuni had taken on a physical form.

2. Box-shaped *Dangan*

Chinese box-shaped *dangan* are distinctly different from stūpa-shaped *dangan*, since they consist of carved sandalwood panels inserted into a separately made wooden box, which is often lacquered (pls. 11-13). This allows for greater protection of the sandalwood panels inside the shrine when travelling, but lacks the unity of interior and exterior of stūpa-shaped *dangan*, which are carved from one single block of sandalwood. This style of Chinese box-shaped *dangan* with the sandalwood panels inserted into the box, was also adopted in Japan (pl. 16).

Other surviving Japanese *dangan* follow the construction of Chinese stūpa-shaped *dangan* (pls. 18, 19). They are made out of a single piece of wood divided into back and front, the front further divided into left and right, forming a triptych that can be conveniently opened and closed (J: *sanmen biraki*; 三面開き).

One variation to these is the Shitennō-ji shrine (pl. 17), which is carved from one piece of sandalwood, but has the front wall, like a lid, divided into two parts forming doors that can be opened and closed (J: *kannon biraki*; 観音開き).

The Komatsu-dera panel (pl. 14) is exceptional, since it would have originally formed a diptych with another identically shaped panel and when closed would have become a small box that could have been conveniently carried. It therefore follows the earliest style of box-shaped *dangan* of Central Asian examples (pl. 6), which were made out of one piece of material without any separate encasing. This type of box-shaped *dangan* such as the Komatsu-dera panel also played a decisive role in the creation of incense container-shaped boxes (pls. 22-24).

Iconographically, with the exception of the Kōsan-ji shrine (pl. 16), there seems to have been a shift from the highly complex iconography of paradise scenes in Chinese *dangan* (pls. 11-13) to a less complex iconography of individual deities in Japanese *dangan* (pls. 14, 15, 17-19). Nevertheless, despite these changes in iconography all of them share an exceptional attention to detail reflecting the highest level of craftsmanship and a splendid decoration with the most intricate ornamentation in the sense of *shōgon*. Furthermore, all box-shaped *dangan* close in on themselves in order to protect the intricate carving on the inside and were therefore ideal as personal devotional icons for travellers—a fact further proven by the Chinese examples in Japan which were brought

by travelling monks.

The Portable Shrine at Fumon-in, Mount Kōya, Wakayama

The portable shrine at Fumon-in (普門院) measures 19.3 cm in height (pl. 11) and consists of four separate parts of sandalwood placed inside a box: the rectangular main part carved with a group of five holy figures, two side panels to the left and right each carved with five vertically arranged Buddha figures seated on lotus thrones with their hands in the gesture of meditation (Sk: *dhyāna mudrā*) covered by their robes, and a decorative panel at the base with one row of boldly carved acanthus leaves and another of alternating round and square flowers. Furthermore, a superbly carved relief screen, which is attached to the main part of the shrine has survived entirely intact. Itō Shiro has argued that originally this shrine must have had two side wings and all three parts would have been placed inside a box in a similar way as the example at the Itsukushima Jinja (pl. 12).⁴⁶ However, the construction of the Fumon-in portable shrine with its square main part framed by two rectangular decorative panels of Buddha figures to the left and right and a decorative panel at the bottom, make it a self-contained unit unlike the central panel of the Itsukushima Jinja triptych. Furthermore, the structure and composition of the Fumon-in shrine with its left and right sides framed by vertically arranged bands of Buddha figures is similar to those found on 6th century Chinese stone steles. Therefore, it is very likely that this shrine shows its original, complete structure and is, in fact, one variation of box-shaped *dangan* developed in China.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Itō Shiro, “Kōgōbutsu Senju Kannon zazō,” *Gakusō*, no. 7 (March 1985), p. 74.

⁴⁷ For a stone stele of the Northern Zhou period with similar vertical bands of Buddha figures, see Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkyō*, vol. 2, pl. 328b.

The central image of the main part of the shrine shows Śākyamuni Buddha seated in half-lotus position with his right hand raised in *abhaya mudrā* (partially missing) and his left hand resting on the knee palm up holding a portion of his robe—with the index finger, rather unconventionally, stretched out. The Buddha sits on an octagonal dais with downward pointed lotus petals, similar to the one on the *makura honzon*, although more simply depicted. The body of the Buddha with its wide shoulders, protruding chest and wide, folded legs puts emphasis on naturalistically depicted volume. This effect is further enhanced by the thick robe of the Buddha, masterfully carved to convey a sense of the heavy fabric with the drapery folds boldly carved in circular ridges around the abdomen and short, wavy, vertical ridges around the knees. The shape of these ridges as well as the way the drapery falls from the throne in two distinct parts, which can be symmetrically divided along the central axis of the Buddha, are very similar in style to those of the *makura honzon*—the only difference being, that those of the *makura honzon* are incised, whilst the ones of the Fumon-in shrine are carved in high relief resulting in a greater sense of volume. All these features create a sense of monumentality, despite the small size of the image, which cannot yet be seen in the *makura honzon* and only emerged at the beginning of the high Tang style around the early 8th century. The round fleshy face with its small mouth and pursed lips, long arched eyebrows, and very pronounced chin shows the high Tang style of the early 8th century.⁴⁸

Śākyamuni is flanked by two attendant Bodhisattvas, which are arranged in a strictly symmetrical manner towards him. Both stand on double-lotus pedestals in *tribhanga* pose with their inner hands raised holding a lotus bud and their outer hands lowered holding a

⁴⁸ For a stone Buddha with very similar facial features, dated 710, see Tokyoto bijutsukan, et al., eds., *Tō no Jotei: Sokutenbukō to Sonojidai ten* (Tokyo: NHK, 1998), p. 37, pl. 12.

heart-shaped object, which has been most convincingly identified as a peacock feather fan.⁴⁹ Both Bodhisattvas wear *dhotis* with finely incised U-shaped drapery folds and scarves elegantly wrapped around their shoulders. They are adorned with necklaces with a square-shaped diadem to which a pendant is attached (pendant of Bodhisattva on Buddha's left is missing) and an elaborate chain embellished with square medallions at regular intervals falling elegantly from one shoulder across the body to below the knees. Their hair is piled up to a high chignon, which is adorned with three flower-shaped diadems in a style typical of the first half of the 8th century.⁵⁰ Their faces are finely carved with clearly defined features similar in style to those of the Buddha.

At the back, Śākyamuni is flanked by his two favourite disciples, the young Ānanda to his right with the hands held in the gesture of adoration and the old Kāśyapa to his left his hands concealed underneath his robe. The faces of both disciples are superbly carved showing the stark contrast between the smooth, boyish face of Ānanda with an expression of inner devotion turned towards the Buddha and the rugged, old face of Kāśyapa with fiercely carved eyebrows with an expression of concentrated inwardness only attained after many years of hard spiritual training.

In the background of these figures a pointed mandorla is carved with a pattern of incised flames, which is not quite as vigorous as the one seen in the *makura honzon* and not quite as regular and stylised as the one on the Songgwangsa shrine. Behind the Buddha, a halo with incised lotus petals is depicted. As in the case of other portable

⁴⁹ This heart-shaped or peach-shaped object, that appears as an attribute of Bodhisattvas from the Northern Wei dynasty onwards, and has puzzled scholars for decades, has been convincingly identified by Diana P. Rowan as a peacock feather fan fastened to a wicker frame. Diana P. Rowan, "Identifying a Bodhisattva Attribute: Tracing the Long History of a Small Object," *Oriental Art*, vol. 46, no. 1 (2001), pp. 31-36.

⁵⁰ For a Bodhisattva with similar flower-shaped ornaments, see Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkō*, vol. 3, pl. 705b.

shrines, the figures are placed in a niche with tucked up curtains and additional curtains in each corner with a stylised pattern of lotus petals. Above the curtains a canopy with incised decoration is depicted together with the same pattern of stylised flaming jewels as seen on the canopies of the side wings of the Songgwangsa shrine (pl. 8) and the one in the private collection in Mie (pl. 9). The arrangement of the figures in the niche together with the fact that they are almost carved fully in the round gives them a strong three-dimensional feeling.

The separately carved relief screen is the most lavishly adorned and elaborately carved example of any extant *dangan*. It is a masterpiece in terms of composition and execution and a real tour de force in technical terms. The screen depicts two *bodhi* trees with finely incised lines similar to the ones seen on the shrine in a private collection in Mie (pl. 9). The trees are joined by an arch with curled up ends, which provides a gate through which the central Buddha can be seen. Next to the curled up ends elaborately carved lotus flowers are depicted. Next to the lotus flowers, on branches issuing from the *bodhi* trees (left one is broken), phoenixes stand on lotus pedestals. The crowns of the *bodhi* trees are depicted as a dense pattern of branches with elaborately carved flowers. In the middle of it, above the central Buddha, a pagoda is depicted flanked on each side by a pair of flying Apsarasas with fluttering scarves, some of them playing musical instruments.

Flying musical instruments can be seen in the upper right corner and a drum underneath the pagoda. This adds to the otherworldly sense of the scene emphasising the depiction of a paradise. A Buddha is seated in the European manner in the left corner of this scene and the fact that the Future Buddha, Maitreya, is most commonly represented in this posture, together with the pagoda and the paradise scene, strongly suggests that

this is a representation of Maitreya's paradise, Tushita heaven.

The two *bodhi* trees are flanked by two guardians (Sk: Vajrapāni) standing on rocks with bulging, muscular bodies, their outer arm raised in a fist ready to strike (the left one holding a vajra) and their inner arm held close to the body for protection. Their sense of movement is brilliantly expressed through their raised inner leg, the fluttering scarves, and their twisted hip. Underneath the two guardians a pair of seated lions are depicted in a similar style to the ones on the central and left panel of the *makura honzon*. Between the two lions an elaborate pattern of lotus leaves topped by five lotus pedestals is carved, similar in style to the one on the central panel of the Songgwangsa shrine, although more stylised. On top of the five lotus pedestals in front of the Buddha, an incense burner is flanked by two kneeling female worshippers wearing scarves with their hands folded in adoration, who in turn are flanked by two naked children with their hands folded in prayer.

The shrine is a masterpiece of composition and craftsmanship displaying the highest level of carving technique particularly in the relief screen, where through the lavish depiction of the most intricate details of a paradise scene the concept of *shōgon* finds its highest expression. Stylistically, the emphasis on volume and monumentality seen in the Buddha, which is typical of the beginning of the mature Tang style around the early 8th century and not yet seen in the *makura honzon*, suggests that the Fumon-in shrine is slightly later than the *makura honzon* and earlier or contemporary to the Songgwangsa shrine. I would therefore argue for a date in the first quarter of the 8th century.⁵¹

⁵¹ Yamamoto Chikyō has also suggested a date in the early 8th century for both the Fumon-in and the Sanggwangsa shrine, see Yamamoto, "Dangan saishetsu," p. 8 and "Kōyasan no futatsu," p. 70.

The Portable Shrine at Itsukushima Jinja, Hiroshima

The box-shaped *dangan* at Itsukushima Jinja (厳島神社) in Hiroshima (pl. 12) is 22 cm in height and consists of a rectangular central panel and two side panels made out of sandalwood, which are placed inside a lacquered wooden box. The box is splendidly decorated with gilt bronze repoussé plaques of various motifs: on each door a heavenly guardian (Sk: Lokapāla) clad in an elaborate armour with helmet stands on a rock—their outer hand holding a trident to protect the entrance to the shrine. Above them and on the two sides of the box pairs of flying Apsaras are attached. The corners of the entire box are decorated with an intricate pattern of palmette leaves and the back shows a most elaborately designed version of an eight-petalled lotus flower. This creates a most splendid expression of sublime adornment (*shōgon*) and although it is difficult to determine whether this is the original box in which these panels were placed, it is certainly a product of Tang China and matches the splendour and preciousness of the panels on the inside and therefore, might be the original box.

The central panel shows as its main image an elaborately carved Śākyamuni Buddha seated in half-lotus position sculpted almost fully in the round, which makes it stand out from the more flatly carved ten figures in the background, emphasising its centrality and importance within the triptych. Compared to the Fumon-in shrine (pl. 7), Śākyamuni's body shows a greater degree of softness and fleshiness in the treatment of body volume, which is further enhanced by the soft modelling of the robe falling in an even rhythm of soft circular drapery folds—round, low-relief carved ridges, on the knees—onto the dais. There is a harmony and ordered rhythm in the depiction of the drapery folds, which stands in stark contrast to the boldly carved and vigorously moving folds of the Fumon-in

Buddha. There is also a greater sophistication in the depiction of details seen in the fastening of the outer robe with a double cord tied in an elaborate bow on the left shoulder. The double cord falls elegantly across the left side to the knee where it is held by the Buddha's left hand with his index finger stretched out, similar to the Fumon-in Buddha and flares out of his hand in an elegant curve falling across the knee onto the dais. Furthermore the inner robe is embellished with double line incisions of a triangular pattern. This attention to detail and the elegant, fluent depiction reflect an extremely advanced and mature style, which is clearly later than that of the Fumon-in and Songgwangsa shrines. The Buddha's right hand is raised in *abhaya mudrā*. The face is rounder and fleshier than the Fumon-in example and is typical of the style around the mid-8th century.⁵² It is smoothly carved with an expression of great serenity.

Śākyamuni is flanked by two pairs of attendant Bodhisattvas. The inner pair holds their hands folded in front of their chest in the gesture of adoration. Whilst the outer pair has their inner hands raised holding a lotus bud and their outer hands lowered holding a peacock feather fan. All four Bodhisattvas wear *dhotis* with elaborately carved pleats and finely incised double U-shaped folds. They are further adorned with tripartite crowns, scarves around their shoulders, necklaces and two long chains of jewelry, falling elegantly from one shoulder across the body to the knees. The four Bodhisattvas stand on lotus pedestals in the shape of lotus pods, that grow out of a pattern of stylised lotus stems and leaves—similar to the ones found on the relief screens of the Fumon-in and Songgwangsa shrines, although executed in a more cursory and schematic style.

⁵² For a Buddha with similar facial features dated to the mid-8th century, see Tokyoto bijutsukan, et al., eds., *To no Jotei*, p. 43, pl. 18. For a gilt bronze Buddha with similar facial features and body volume, see Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkyō*, vol. 3, pl. 720.

Behind the Bodhisattvas, the Buddha is accompanied by four of his disciples wearing monk's robes flanked by one Pratyekabuddha on either side with their hair coiled up in typical fashion. All the attendant figures to Śākyamuni have clearly defined facial features, which however lack the individual facial expression or the sensitive modelling of Śākyamuni's face.

The background of the niche is taken up by a large pointed mandorla, with a vigorously incised flame pattern very similar in style to the one on the *makura honzon*. Behind the Buddha a halo with lotus petals and pearl-string border is incised. The same type of mandorla and halo, although without the pearl-string border, is depicted on both side wings. The tucked up curtain on top is incised in the most cursory manner and the canopy found on other *dangan* has virtually been omitted. This results in the loss of a sense of three-dimensional space in which the figures are placed, which is so successfully depicted in the Fumon-in and Songgwangsa shrines. Furthermore, it puts emphasis on the central image of Śākyamuni, which emerges with great monumentality from the background due to its strong three-dimensional carving.

Both side wings show as their central images a group of five holy figures of a Buddha flanked by two Bodhisattvas and two monks creating a sense of balance and symmetry. Furthermore, a repetition of certain features of the central panel on each of the side panels creates a visual coherence and unity that combine the three panels to a harmonious whole. The two monks flanking the Buddha image at the back are depicted in the same style as those on the central panel. The Bodhisattvas of the left wing hold a lotus bud in their raised hands and a peacock feather fan in their lowered hands mirroring the postures of the outer pair of Bodhisattvas on the central panel. Whilst the Bodhisattvas on the right

wing with their hands folded in adoration in front of their chest repeat the postures of the inner pair of Bodhisattvas of the central panel. These two Bodhisattvas are also shown standing on pedestals in the shape of lotus pods supported by lotus stems repeating the pattern found on the central panel. However, there are a number of stylistic variations, which cannot be seen on the central panel such as the Bodhisattvas on the left wing standing on double-lotus pedestals and having their hair tied high to a chignon. Apart from this, all four Bodhisattvas of the side panels are adorned with the same *dhotis*, scarves and necklaces except for the single long chain of jewelry instead of two. Overall the four Bodhisattvas are rather sketchily carved and do not display the same attention to detail and care of execution as the ones on the central panel.

The five holy figures on both wings are placed in a niche with a sketchily incised tucked up curtain hanging from underneath a canopy with three layers consisting of vertical, triangular and round pleats topped by a pearl-string border representing a slightly simpler version of the canopy seen on the central panel of the Songgwangsa shrine. It is similarly embellished with three stylised flaming jewels, two of which are only half depicted, as on the side wings of the Songgwangsa and the central panel of the Fumon-in shrines.

The Buddha on the left wing is shown seated on an octagonal dais with the right hand raised in *abhaya mudrā* and the left hand resting palm up on his knee. The carving of the facial features, body volume and drapery folds are very similar in style, but only a slightly simpler version of the masterful execution of Śākyamuni on the central panel. The Buddha on the right wing is seated in the European manner with each foot resting on a separate lotus pedestal. His right hand is raised in *abhaya mudrā* and the left one is

missing. His robe covers both shoulders and falls in an even rhythm of U-shaped drapery folds across the body. The train of the Buddha's robe is carved with great attention to detail and a sense of realism.

It has been suggested convincingly that the Buddha on the right wing seated in the European manner represents Maitreya, the Buddha of the Future, and the Buddha of the left wing represents Amitābha, the Buddha of the Western Paradise and thus each panel represents the respective paradise of Amitābha, Śākyamuni and Maitreya.⁵³

Although the shrine shows the highest level of craftsmanship, particularly in the fluent and detailed execution of the three Buddhas, one can assume that each panel would have originally been embellished with a relief screen of the same splendour as the one of the Fumon-in shrine, which would have added greatly to the sense of *shōgon* and would have brought the paradise of each Buddha to life.

Although the shrine shares a number of stylistic features such as the canopies of the side wings and the lotus pattern of the central panel with the Songgwangsa shrine, the masterful and proficient treatment of body volume and drapery folds with the most sophisticated attention to decorative detail and softness of facial features so beautifully expressed in Śākyamuni shows a maturity of style, which achieves a perfect balance between sensuousness and inner spirituality, only achieved by the mid-8th century. Therefore, I would suggest a date in the third quarter of the 8th century for this shrine.⁵⁴

⁵³ Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Bukkyō bijutsu: Chūgoku 2, Hiroshima* (Tokyo: Shōgakusan, 1980), p. 218, pl. 15.

⁵⁴ Yamamoto Chikyō has suggested a date in the late 8th century, see Yamamoto, "Dangan saissetsu," p. 8.

The Box-shaped Dangan at Hōon-ji, Kyoto

The portable shrine kept at Hōon-ji (報恩寺) in Kyoto (pl. 13) is a triptych of 18.2 cm in height consisting of nine separate panels made out of sandalwood inserted into a box. Each part of the triptych consists of a large rectangular central panel and two small, narrow panels inserted at the top and bottom. The narrow panels are divided into niches carved with figures that form horizontal, decorative bands linking the three parts of the triptych giving it a sense of unity and structure.

The upper horizontal decorative band across the triptych is divided into eight niches each of which is intricately carved with scenes from the life of Śākyamuni Buddha and his previous lives (Jātaka stories). From the left to the right they represent: the Buddha seated with his hands in *dharmacakra mudrā* (turning the Wheel of Law) surrounded by attendants representing the Buddha's first sermon at the Deer Park in Benares; the Buddha seated with his hands in *dhyāna mudrā* surrounded by attendant figures; the Buddha on his deathbed surrounded by his followers representing the Buddha's passing into parinirvāṇa; the mourning of the Buddha's death by his followers in front of his coffin; the worshipping of the Buddha's earthly remains by his followers in front of his coffin; the Buddha seated in *dhyāna mudrā* surrounded by followers and two scenes probably related to Jātaka stories. Despite their miniscule size, all the figures are intricately carved and clearly depicted with crisply carved facial features, which reflects the ingenious skill of the sculptor who made this shrine.

The lower decorative band consists of eight niches each (one is missing) superbly carved with heavenly beings riding on wildly moving lions and playing musical instruments. The fierce movement of the lions contrasts beautifully with the gentle

elegance of the heavenly beings with their elaborately fluttering scarves. The carving shows the highest technical proficiency down to the smallest detail.

The intricate adornment of each niche is carried further in the decorative borders that separate each niche from the other through the insertion of round semi-precious stones and coloured glass beads, which can be seen as a lavish variation of the pearl-string border seen in the niches of the *makura honzon* (pl. 7) and on the relief screen of the shrine in a private collection in Mie (pl. 9). This adds a most dazzling effect of splendour and opulence to the shrine.

The main scene of the central panel shows Śākyamuni Buddha with his right hand raised in *abhaya mudrā* and his left resting flat on his knee. He is flanked by two Buddha figures seated in the European manner with their hands in *dhyāna mudra*. The Buddhas are flanked by two standing Bodhisattvas wearing unusual scarves as a headdress. To Śākyamuni's right one of his two favourite disciples, Ānanda, is depicted. Behind him two bearded figures wearing armours are complemented by another two figures on the right and can therefore be identified as the Four Heavenly Kings (Sk: Lokāpāla, C: Tianwang). They are joined on the left by the youthful warrior, Weituotian (Sk: Skanda), wearing a helmet, who has the task of protecting the paradise of Śākyamuni.

Behind the figures a most unusual mandorla decorated with relief-carved flames between decorative borders of inserted semi-precious stones and coloured glass beads and a vigorously incised flame pattern is depicted, which can also be seen on both side panels. Remnants of an intricately carved and richly decorated relief screen can be seen in front of the Buddha with two lions on lotus pedestals and a guardian figure on the right. To the Buddha's left, the dragon coiled around the *bodhi* tree and the phoenix on a

lotus pedestal, are stylistic elements already encountered in the relief screens of the shrine in a private collection in Mie (pl. 9) and the Fumon-in shrine (pl. 11) respectively. Four Buddhas with haloes are seated on lotus flowers above Śākyamuni, which would have been complemented by a further three on the left (now missing) to make up the Seven Buddhas of the Past commonly depicted with Śākyamuni.

To the left and right of the figures of the central panel, narrative scenes are depicted. The lower scene can be identified as the famous philosophical dispute between the layman Vimalakīrti seated on his sick bed on the left and the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī on the right, which can be identified by the two lions on the base of his throne, surrounded by laymen intent on listening to the outcome as described in the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa Sūtra*. The right panel shows a Buddha seated in the lotus position (Sk: *padmāsana*) with his hands held in *dharmacakra mudrā* (turning the Wheel of the Law) surrounded by two Bodhisattvas, two disciples and the Four Heavenly Kings depicted in the same style as the ones of the central panel. The same group of figures is symmetrically arranged on the left panel with the Buddha shown in *dhyana mudrā*. Iconographically, the Buddha on the right with his hands in *dharmacakra mudrā* could represent Amitābha. However, in the context of the iconography of the entire shrine with narrative scenes from the life of the historical Buddha and Jātaka stories it is more likely that both Buddhas are different representations of Śākyamuni, one shown preaching and the other one shown in meditation.

Unlike the right panel, the left panel shows a large part of a relief screen still intact. The lower half, in front of the Buddha, shows the same iconography of an incense burner flanked by two pairs of worshippers and lions and *bodhi* trees as the relief screen

of the Fumon-in shrine (pl. 11), although depicted in a different style. The upper part of the screen shows four of originally five Buddhas seated on lotus flowers, a pair of flying Apsaras, and a phoenix depicted in a similar manner as on the central panel. The carving of the relief screen is most delicate and represents the ultimate expression of miniature carving skill, particularly in the plants winding elegantly up the *bodhi* trees.

The style of the figures, especially the three main Buddha images of the shrine, shows a tendency towards schematic depiction of the drapery folds and the oval shaped faces and gentle transition from the skull to the low *usnīsa* are distinctively different from the very mature Tang style of the Itsukushima Jinja shrine (pl. 12) and therefore, this shrine has to be of considerably later date. However, the superb craftsmanship of the shrine displays a level of skill, which can no longer be seen in the Chion-in shrine (pl. 10) of the 13th century and therefore a date in the Five Dynasties or early Northern Song dynasty around the 10th century seems to be most likely.

The Hōon-ji shrine is a unique example amongst *dangan* in terms of both iconography and expression of *shōgon*. Matsumoto Eiichi made the interesting observation that the iconography of portable shrines in their transmission from India via Central Asia to China changed in its movement from West to East from narrative scenes such as Jātaka stories or stories from the life of the historical Buddha to more static configurations of Buddhist deities more typical of Māhāyana Buddhism.⁵⁵ However, the Hōon-ji shrine is an interesting case in point, which proves that narrative scenes from the life of Buddha and Jātaka stories were skilfully combined with more static configurations of Buddhist deities in Paradise scenes as late as the 10th century in China.

⁵⁵ Matsumoto Eiichi, "Kongōbu-ji," pp. 252- 253.

The other unique point of this shrine, compared to earlier examples discussed, is the extensive and sophisticated use of cut gold leaf decoration (J: *taikin*; 戴金; *kikrikane*; 切金). Although the carving technique displayed in this shrine is still of the highest quality, the Bodhisattva figures show a tendency towards schematic depiction and many of the fine details, which were expressed in earlier *dangan* through intricate carving and incisions, are expressed in this shrine—for the first time—through the most intricate use of *kirikane*.

Therefore, one can see that in Chinese *dangan* from at least as early as the 10th century the lavish use of *kirikane* became an important artistic means for the expression of *shōgon*. One can further surmise that it must have been *dangan* such as the Hōon-ji shrine imported from China to Japan, that inspired a similar development of the splendid use of *kirikane* as a vital means in the expression of *shōgon* on *dangan* and *danzō* in Japan, as seen on examples of the late Fujiwara and Kamakura periods.

The Panel of a Sandalwood Shrine of Nyoirin Kannon at Komatsu-dera, Ibaragi

The small, square panel carved from sandalwood kept at Komatsu-dera (子松寺) in Ibaragi is only 8.4 cm high and 7.6 cm wide (pl. 14) and is the earliest surviving part of a Japanese *dangan*.

On the inside it shows the representation of a single figure of the six-armed Nyoirin Kannon (Sk: Cintāmanicakra Avalokiteśvara) surrounded by a high rim with a carved decorative border of stylised S-shapes. The two elongated holes on the right side of the panel suggest that metal hinges would have connected this panel to another one of exactly the same size and proportion carved with another Buddhist deity forming a

diptych. When closed, the two panels would have formed a small square box, which could have been conveniently carried as a personal devotional icon.⁵⁶ Therefore, the structure of this shrine is very similar to some of the earliest portable shrines found in Central Asia (pl. 6) and unlike the previously discussed Fumon-in and Hōon-ji shrines would not have been inserted into a separate box.

Nyoirin Kannon is seated in the posture of royal ease (Sk: *Mahārājāṣāṇa*) on a lotus pedestal with three layers of upward pointing lotus petals. The elbow of one right arm rests on the right knee, the hand touching the cheek in a pensive pose representing the Bodhisattva's concern for the welfare of all sentient beings. The hand of one left arm is flatly pressed against a rock behind the lotus throne supporting the posture of the Bodhisattva. One raised left hand holds the wheel of the Buddhist law (Sk: *cakra*; J: *rinbō*; 輪宝) and another one held in front of the body would have held a lotus stem (now missing). One right hand in front of the body would have held the flaming jewel (Sk: *cintāmani*; J: *nyoi hōju*; 如意宝珠), which is now lost and another hand would have held a rosary.

The Bodhisattva's name derives from the two attributes of the wish-granting jewel (*nyoi*) and the wheel of Buddhist law (*rin*) representing the deity's capacity to grant wishes and bestow the wisdom of Buddhist teaching to worshippers. Nyoirin Kannon is one of the six forms of Kannon (J: Roku Kannon; 六観音) in esoteric Buddhism, who preside over the six stages of rebirth of which Nyoirin represents the fifth stage, the exalted realm of the Devas. The cult of Nyoirin Kannon was introduced to Japan by Saichō and Kūkai in the 9th century where it gained great popularity.

⁵⁶ Itō Shiro has pointed out these elongated holes on the side of this panel and included a photograph of it. Itō, "Kōgōbutsu," p. 75, pl. 7.

The very orthodox style of Nyoirin Kannon in the Komatsu-dera panel, particularly evident in the Chinese style jewelry, suggests that the sculptor may have been inspired by iconographic drawings (J: *zuzō*; 図像), that were imported in great numbers from China during the 9th and 10th centuries. However, contrary to the suggestion of some scholars that this panel might be a product of Tang China, the rather large head in proportion to the body, the swelling fleshiness of the face and body, the distinctive rolling wave pattern (J: *honpa shiki*; 翻波式) on the legs as well as the structure of the mandorla in the shape of a large and small intersecting disc are all distinctively Japanese features typical of the early Heian period.⁵⁷

The panel shows the most sublime carving technique with the greatest attention to decorative detail. This is most evident in the very deep and smooth carving of *honpa shiki* on both legs and the finely carved bow tied with two sashes that fasten the *dhōti* (J: *mo*; 裳) and spill from underneath the Bodhisattva's left leg onto the dais, where they are carved fully in the round. These together with the *mo* falling from the left leg over the edge of the lotus dais create a sense of three-dimensionality, despite the rather shallow carving of the panel with a thickness of only 1.4 cm, and demonstrate the ingenious skill of the sculptor. This sublime skill can further be seen in the necklace, which is elegantly intertwined with a chain decorated with three flower-shaped diadems, each of which has a pendant attached. The elaborate crown decorated with a diadem out of which two short pearl-strings issue as well as the mandorla sublimely adorned with lotus petals, pearl-string borders, cross-hatched patterns and flames, eloquently express the splendour of *shōgon* within the miniscule size of this panel. The smoothly carved face of Nyoirin

⁵⁷ For an attribution of this panel to the Chinese Tang dynasty, see Inoue, *Danzō*, pp. 48-49, pl. 47; and Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Tōnan Ajia no Hotoketachi* (Nara: Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 1996), p. 245, pl. 54.

Kannon with its sharp features has an expression of meditative serenity. Apart from the beard and hair on the forehead painted in black and the blue colour applied to the chignon the panel is entirely unpainted giving room to the sublime carving of decorative details in the sense of *shōgon*.

Stylistically, the treatment of the swelling fleshiness of the body, deep carving of smooth *honpa shiki* around the legs and the bow on the *mo* are similar to the Nyoirin Kannon at Daigo-ji in Kyoto, which can be dated to the first half of the 10th century.⁵⁸ However, the Daigo-ji sculpture shows a sweetness of facial expression and a softness of carving that is not yet present in the Komatsu-dera panel and therefore I would argue for a date in the early 10th century.

The Portable Shrine at Eishō-ji, Kanagawa

The inside of the small shrine at Eishō-ji (英勝寺) in Kanagawa (pl. 15) which only measures 7.3 cm in height shows an Amida triad made from sandalwood carved almost fully in the round.

The crowned Amida Nyorai is seated in *padmāsana* with both hands held in *dhyāna mudrā* (J: *jō-in*). He is flanked by Kannon (Sk: Avalokiteśvara) standing to his left and Seishi (Sk: Mahāsthāmaprāpta) to his right. The iconography of this crowned Amida triad enjoyed great popularity during the Fujiwara period from the 11th to the 12th century—the height of Amida worship—and can be seen in the many miniature bronze triads surviving from this period, which were used as personal devotional icons (J: *nenji butsu*; 念持仏).⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Mizuno Keizaburō, et al., eds., *Mikkyō jūin to butsuzō: Heian no kenchiku, chōkoku 1*, Vol. 5, Nihon bijutsu zenshū (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1992), p. 130, pl. 69.

⁵⁹ For examples of miniature bronze crowned Amida triads, see Mitsumori Masashi, *Amida Nyorai*, Nihon no bijutsu, no. 241 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1986), p. 73, pls. 84, 85.

Amida is richly adorned with a crown embellished with an intricately incised pattern of cross-hatching and an elaborate necklace and chains falling from his shoulders across the upper body to his knees held together by a wheel-shaped diadem in front of his abdomen. The drapery folds around the knees are depicted in an even, dense and shallowly carved pattern, unlike the boldly carved *honpa shiki* of the Komatsu-dera Nyoirin Kannon (pl. 14) and represent a later style. Although the face of Amida shows a similar fleshiness with finely defined features to that of Nyoirin Kannon, the roundness and softness of the face are typical of the Fujiwara period.

Both Bodhisattvas show the same roundly modelled faces with a gentle, graceful expression. They are both richly adorned with elaborately carved crowns, necklaces and chains of jewelry held together by a flower-shaped diadem, fluttering scarves around their shoulders, ribbons on their crowns, and a dense array of drapery folds on their *mo*.

All this creates a sense of decorative splendour displaying the superb miniature carving skill of the sculptor. Nevertheless, the most virtuous display of decorative splendour and carving skill can be seen in the mandorlas and the lotus throne of the triad. The mandorlas are of the same structure of two intersecting discs as the one on the Komatsu-dera panel, but add an even greater degree of refinement and sophistication through an outer decorative band of lotus scrolls superbly carved in relief. The same degree of intricate decoration can be seen on the octagonal lotus throne of Amida, decorated around its foot with finely carved lotus petals with lotus stems issuing from the side that end in lotus pods on which the two attendants stand creating a sense as if the triad was floating in the Pure Land of Amida. Apart from the blue colour on the hair, the black colour on eyes and eyebrows and the red colour on the lips, the shrine is unpainted.

Compared to the Nyoirin Kannon of Komatsu-dera the shallowly carved dense pattern of drapery folds, the greater roundness and softness of the faces with a gentle almost sweet expression and the overall greater refinement in the expression of decorative details such as the lotus scroll border around the mandorlas, suggest a date in the first half of the 11th century for this shrine and demonstrates the sublime expression of *shōgon* in the refined style of the Fujiwara period.

The Sandalwood Shrine at Kōsan-ji, Hiroshima

The portable shrine at Kōsan-ji (耕三寺) in Hiroshima (pl. 16) consists of one panel carved out of sandalwood measuring only 15 cm in height and 12.8 cm in diameter inserted into a box. The box is not the original one and it is therefore difficult to determine whether this panel was originally inserted on its own into a similar box or whether it might have had two side panels to form a triptych.

The panel is unique amongst surviving Japanese *dangan* for its iconographic and compositional complexity representing the Western Paradise or Pure Land (J: Jōdo; 浄土) of Amida Nyorai. It is the only surviving Japanese *dangan* that represents a paradise scene comparable to those of earlier Chinese *dangan*. The small size of the panel makes the number of figures and the intricacy of decorative details even more astonishing. The panel can be divided into three horizontal sections representing three levels in ascending order towards the inner sanctum of the Western Paradise where Amida himself resides.

The lowest section shows a pond with two fierce Kongō-rikishi (Sk: Vajrapāni) standing on rocks and two Bodhisattvas standing on boats in the form of semi-aquatic

mythical beasts, Makara, whose task is to row believers to the Western Paradise.

The middle section leads into the precincts of Amida's palace represented by a low balustrade, from where steps in the centre mark its entrance with two dancing Bodhisattvas welcoming new worshippers. The two Bodhisattvas are surrounded by a pair of kneeling and a pair of flying celestial beings floating in the air. On each side a group of five kneeling Bodhisattvas are playing musical instruments.

The next section represents the highest level where Amida himself presides and is therefore guarded on each side by two of the Four Heavenly Kings (J: Shitennō) wearing body armour and showing fierce facial expressions. Inside a large palace structure, the crowned Amida Nyorai is seated with his hands in *dhyāna mudrā* flanked by the seated Kannon to his left and Seishi to his right. The intricately carved mandorlas and lotus thrones of the triad are similar in style to those of the Eishō-ji shrine. Despite the miniscule size their faces are finely carved with clearly defined features showing an expression of meditative introspection. The triad is flanked by two Bodhisattvas seated in smaller buildings to the left and right of the main palace. In front of each Bodhisattva a group of five kneeling Bodhisattvas with their hands folded in prayer are depicted. In front of the Amida triad ten monks perform a meditation which consists of circum-ambulating the palace of Amida whilst invoking his name (J: *jōgyō nenbutsu zanmai*; 常行念仏三昧).⁶⁰ All of the monks are intricately carved with individual facial features—some with their hands folded in prayer and others carrying offerings.

⁶⁰ The *jōgyō* (ambulation) was one of four forms of meditation laid down by Saichō, the founder of the Tendai sect. The Tendai monk Ennin, who had studied the *nenbutsu zanmai* (meditation while invoking Amida's name) in China, combined this practice with the earlier *jōgyō* to the *jōgyō nenbutsu zanmai* on his return to Mount Hiei in 851, which became an important Tendai practice. Mitsumori, *Amida Nyorai*, p. 67.

The panel shows the highest level of craftsmanship in the wealth and execution of decorative detail. Each figure, despite the minute size, is intricately carved with clearly defined, individual facial features, some of them showing naturalistically depicted movement that animates the entire scene. This together with the *kirikane* applied to some of the figures and the intricate *kirikane* pattern of four-petalled flowers spread across the background of the panel let the *shōgon* of the Western Paradise of Amida come to life. Stylistically, although the Amida triad is closely related to the Eishō-ji shrine, the faces have lost some of the roundness and soft fleshiness and have taken on a square shape with more shallowly carved features typical of the late Fujiwara period, which suggests a date between the late 11th and the first half of the 12th century. The shrine is a unique example of the expression of *shōgon* in the representation of Amida's paradise in *dangan* of the Fujiwara period—a time when the cult of Amida was at its peak.

The Portable Shrine at Shitennō-ji, Osaka

The portable shrine at Shitennō-ji (四天王寺) in Osaka (pl. 17), is carved from one piece of sandalwood measuring 15 cm in height. Unlike the Henmyō-in (pl. 18) and Hōzō-in (pl. 19) shrines which are divided into a front and back part with the front part further divided at the centre into a left and right wing, which can be opened and closed (J: *sanmen biraki*; 三面開き), the Shitennō-ji shrine has only the front wall, which is almost like a lid for the box-shaped shrine, divided at the centre into a left and right door that can be opened and closed (J: *kannon biraki*; 観音開き). This construction cannot be seen in any of the surviving Chinese *dangan* and the only other Japanese *dangan* with *kannon*

biraki is in the Kubosō Memorial Museum of Arts in Izumi City, Osaka (pl. 21).

On the inside of the two doors, two of the Four Heavenly Kings (J: Shitennō) act as guardians to the main image of the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara (J: Senju Kannon): The guardian of the South (J: Zōchōten) appears to the left and the guardian of the East (J: Jikokuten) to the right of Senju Kannon. Both stand on rocks and wear armour and helmets—three-dimensionally carved almost fully in the round. The greatest attention to detail has been given to the intricate carving of their angry features, scarves and half-lion masks on their armour, displaying the highest level of miniature carving skills. Both guardians have haloes with vigorously burning flames, which underline their fierceness.

The central image of Senju Kannon is shown seated in the common iconographic form with forty-two principal arms. The primary pair of hands (later replacements) is folded in the gesture of adoration in front of the chest and the remaining forty arms are arranged in pairs of twenty (some of them later replacements) on either side holding various attributes that serve Senju Kannon as means to save sentient beings. One pair of hands rests in the deity's lap and would have held an alms bowl, which is now lost. Eleven diminutive heads crown Senju Kannon's head. Senju Kannon wears a crown richly adorned with beads hanging from the forehead and ribbons falling elegantly onto the shoulders. The Bodhisattva is further embellished with intricately carved jewelry of a necklace with two diadems in the shape of a four-petalled flower, from which strings of beads fall elegantly across the upper body and both knees, interspersed with more diadems in the shape of a four-petalled flower and one large diadem on the abdomen held in place by the beaded strings. The drapery folds on the knees are shallowly carved and form a dense, even rhythm. They create an elaborate background for the beaded strings

falling onto the knees. The upper part of Senju Kannon's throne is a dais with finely incised upward pointed lotus petals and four petalled-flowers ingeniously carved in relief. The lower part of the throne is carved in the form of stylised lotus leaves decorated with a band of downward pointed lotus petals around the top.

The superb carving of the mandorla, which consists of two intersecting discs with a band of lotus scrolls and pearl-string borders surrounded by the most delicately carved relief of *karakusa* (唐草), represents a most elegant expression of *shōgon* in the aristocratic style of the Fujiwara period.

The background of the entire shrine is incised with a net pattern with dots and apart from the blue colour on Senju Kannon's hair, the black colour of the beard and eyebrows, the green colour on the rocks and mandorla of the guardians, the red colour on the faces of the guardians and the flames of their mandorla, the shrine is unpainted showing the warm reddish colour of the sandalwood.

Senju Kannon's face is square and fleshy with a pronounced chin and these features together with the beads hanging from the crown are stylistically very close to the Jūichimen Kannon made by Enshin dated 1145 at Saidai-ji in Nara.⁶¹ Therefore, this shrine is likely to have been made in the second quarter of the 12th century and is a superb example for the elegant expression of *shōgon* in *dangan* of the late Fujiwara period.

⁶¹ Mizuno Keizaburō, et al., eds., *Byōdō-in to Jōchō: Heian no kenchiku, chōkoku 2*, vol. 6, Nihon bijutsu zenshū (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1994), pl. 86.

The Box-shaped Shrine at Henmyō-in, Wakayama

The portable shrine at Henmyō-in (遍明院) in Wakayama (pl. 18) is of cylindrical shape carved from an unidentified hardwood and measures 14 cm in height. It is divided vertically into a front and back part with the front part split into a left and right wing forming a triptych, that can be opened and closed in *sanmen biraki* style.

The inside of the shrine depicts Monju Bosatsu, the Bodhisattva of Wisdom, riding on a lion accompanied by four attendants. This five-figure configuration (J: *goson*; 五尊) derives from the cult of Wutaishan (Five-terrace Mountain; J: Godaisan; 五台山) in China, where Monju was believed to reside. Although the iconography and cult of this five-figure configuration was introduced from Tang China by the monk Ennin, who had spent some time on Wutaishan, on his return to Japan in 851, it only gained popularity in Japan from the 12th to the 14th century.⁶²

The central panel shows Monju seated on a lotus dais in the posture of relaxation, *lālītāsana*, the right leg drawn up onto the dais and the left leg pendent. The right hand is raised in front of the chest and the left hand rests palm up in the lap. Both hands would have held a wish-granting ruyi sceptre (now lost), underlining the Chinese origin of this iconographic type. Monju's body is slender and elegant with slightly elongated limbs lending it a refined, aristocratic appearance, which is further enhanced by the elegant upper garment (J: *gaitōe*; 袿 褌衣) with its distinctive, elaborately decorated collar and sleeves. The fine carving of the sensitively modelled drapery folds on both legs, the sash tied to a bow around the waist and the elaborate crown express an extremely high level of

⁶² For a detailed discussion of the Wutaishan cult and its iconography as well as its transmission from China to Japan, see Kaneko Hiroaki, *Monju bosatsuzō*, Nihon no bijutsu, no. 314 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1992), pp. 20-31.

carving skill. The face is slightly oval with finely carved, well-defined features attesting to the strong influence of the Chinese Song style on Kamakura sculpture. Figure and dais are separately carved fully in the round from different pieces of wood and attached to the lion. The lion is fiercely depicted conveying a sense of strength and movement. The gilt-bronze mandorla behind Monju, consisting of a lower rectangular part with two panels of lotus scrolls in relief and pearl-string borders and a circular halo with lotus petals is attached separately. The back of the panel is decorated with a vigorously carved mountain grotto, probably symbolising Mount Wutai, where Monju is said to reside.

The right wing shows the innocent child, Zenzai Dōji (Sk: Suddhana), with his hands folded in adoration towards Monju in front of a rock and on top of the rock Buddahari (Sk: Buddhapāla), an Indian monk who came to Wutaishan to meet Monju. Buddahari is expressively carved displaying a realistic mode of representation in the evenly spaced drapery folds and the ascetic expression of his face and chest. He would have held a monk's staff in his right and a flaming jewel in his left hand, which are now lost.

On the left wing, opposite from Buddahari standing on a rock, the immortal Daishō Rōjin (also known as Saishō Rōjin) is depicted, in whom Monju manifested himself when meeting Buddahari on Wutaishan. The face of the old sage is finely modelled with an individual expression despite the miniscule size. Underneath in front of the rock Uten'ō (King Udayana), a fervent promoter of Buddhism associated with the making of the first image of the Buddha, stands with both hands clasping the reins, that would normally be attached to Monju's lion for guidance. Uten'ō shows the same intricate carving of details in the fine, well-defined facial features and drapery folds on both legs, expressing a sense

of movement. The same sense of movement and dynamism can be seen in the vigorous carving of the mountain grotto on the central panel and the rock formations on the side panels as well as on the lion, which reflect a new sense of realism not evident before the Kamakura period.

However, the extremely fine execution of this shrine with the greatest attention to decorative details of the figures and the extensive use of *kirikane*, particularly in the background, create a most splendid expression of *shōgon* in a Kamakura period style and make this shrine an excellent example of the development of *dangan* in the Kamakura period and the continued importance of *shōgon* for *dangan*.

In terms of proportion and style of *gaitōe*, the Monju of this shrine is closely related to the Monju at Honzan Jion-ji in Yamagata dated to the late 12th century.⁶³ However, the strong Chinese Song dynasty style seen on the Henmyō-in Monju and the realistic representation of the figures are typical of the Kamakura period. This together with the fact that this particular iconography gained its greatest popularity during the second half of the 13th century point towards a date in the second half of the 13th century.

The Box-shaped Shrine at Hōzō-in, Yamagata

The miniscule box-shaped shrine at Hōzō-in (宝蔵院) in Yamagata (pl. 19) is an interesting example of the later stylistic development of Japanese *dangan*. It is carved from a small piece of sandalwood measuring only 8.6 cm in height with the side panels attached in *sanmen biraki* style and the outside of the box lacquered.

⁶³ Mizuno, et al., eds., *Byōdō-in to Jōchō*, pl. 105.

The central panel depicts Aizen Myōō, the King of physical lust and worldly desires, who was believed to transform physical love and lust into pure, spiritual love aspiring to enlightenment. He is shown seated on a throne in front of a mandorla, which is a simple red coloured disc—the colour red signifying his inner state of being “coloured with love.” Aizen is depicted three-eyed, with fangs protruding from his mouth, his hair wildly standing up, and wearing a crown in the shape of a lion’s head with fiercely opened mouth. He is shown in the iconographic form of Tenkyū Aizen (天弓愛染): six-armed with one pair of hands pulling a bow and arrow high above his head aiming at heaven.⁶⁴ Another pair of hands holds the *vajra* (J: *kongōsho*) and the *vajra* bell (J: *kongōrei*), symbolising the unity of seemingly opposites achieved by Aizen. One hand is clenched to an empty fist, which holds the wish with which the worshipper approaches Aizen in his prayer and another hand would have held a lotus flower, which is now lost. The body and face of Aizen are broad and squat as if squeezed together, typical of the style of the very late Kamakura or early Nambokuchō period.

He is seated on a dais with lotus petals supported by a vase, which contains flaming jewels (J: *nyoi hōju*) symbolising Aizen’s power to grant wishes. Although the lotus petals lack the fine carving and incising of earlier examples, the treatment of the elaborate ribbons around the vase and the flower ornamentation applied on the foot of the throne create a sense of *shōgon*.

The left panel shows a representation of Fudō Myōō (the Immovable one), who is closely associated and often depicted with Aizen. It represents an active form of the Immovable one as the running Fudō (J: *hashiri Fudō*) holding a sword (now lost) in his

⁶⁴ For a discussion of the iconographic form of Tenkyū Aizen, see Goepper, *Aizen Myōō*, pp. 43-46.

right hand, which signifies his ability to cut through the ignorance of human beings and a rope in his left hand, which signifies his ability to capture all evil influences. His face shows a wrathful expression with bulging eyes and a clenched jaw, which displays a comical touch. His hair is vigorously carved in curls and his scarf (J: *jōhaku*) and *mo* are realistically depicted conveying a sense of the fabric. The rendering of the hair curls, the drapery folds, the rope and the fluttering flames behind Fudō convey a strong sense of movement that result in a very animated appearance.

The image on the right panel is one of the Four Heavenly Kings (J: *Shitennō*), Bishamonten, the guardian of the North, who was also worshipped independently for his strong protective powers. His body is squat and stocky similar to the one of the main image of Aizen. He is clad in full body armour and a helmet, which are finely carved with the most intricate details such as the lion mask on the armour and the elaborate scarves elegantly falling from his shoulders and curling into swirls at the ends on both sides. The face is smoothly carved with well-defined features. Bishamonten holds his attribute, a pagoda, in his right hand with his arm stretched high. The twisted upper body, slightly turned, and indented head and the stretched right arm together with the fluttering scarves, sleeves and flames create a strong sense of movement and lend Bishamonten a very strong sense of realism typical of the Kamakura period.

The shrine is unpainted showing the warm, reddish glow of the sandalwood apart from the following colour highlights: black ink applied to the eyes, eyebrows and beard of the figures and lion heads, red colour applied to the mouth of the figures, lion heads, mandorla of Aizen, and the flames of the attendant figures.

The squat and stocky depiction of the bodies, particularly Aizen's, and the broad face are similar to the seated Monju Bosatsu of Hannyaji, dated 1324, and point to a date in the first half of the 14th century for this shrine.⁶⁵ This shrine represents a late stage in the development of Japanese *dangan* and although it is not a masterpiece, it reflects the very high level of craftsmanship still applied to *dangan* and the continued striving for the expression of *shōgon* even as late as the first half of the 14th century.

3. Temple Hall-shaped *Dangan*

Temple hall-shaped *dangan* are made from a single block of material, which is carved on both interior and exterior creating a remarkable unity of expression—a feature shared with stūpa-shaped *dangan*.⁶⁶ They are essentially miniature representations of temple halls complete with configurations of Buddhist deities on the inside, expressed in either a more concrete (pl. 14) or abstract (pl. 15) style. Their prototype can be found in Chinese four-sided stone stele (J: *shimen butsu*) in the shape of miniature temple halls with Buddhist figures inside, that were popularly made during the Eastern Wei (534-550) and Western Wei (535-557) periods.⁶⁷ It is most likely that these stone miniature temple halls inspired Chinese artists to make similar examples out of sandalwood, which in turn were transmitted to Japan and inspired the making of temple-hall shaped *dangan*. Only two

⁶⁵ Kaneko, *Monju bosatsuzō*, pls. 22 and 116.

⁶⁶ Itō Shiro and Watanabe Hajime use the term palace-shaped *dangan*, which is right insofar as the East Asian temple hall derives from palace architecture. However, since these *dangan* clearly represent miniature temple halls complete with Buddhist figures on the inside, the term temple-hall shaped *dangan* seems more appropriate. Itō, “Kōgōbutsu,” p. 72; Watanabe Hajime, “Chiman-ji zō kokushutsu shōbutsugan zō ni tsuite,” *Bijutsu kenkyū*, no. 50 (February, 1936), p. 45.

⁶⁷ For examples, see Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkyō*, vol. 1, pls. 293a, b, c; 310a, b; 311a, b.

extant Japanese examples are known today (pls. 14, 15) and none of the Chinese prototypes have survived.⁶⁸ Judging from the structure of the two surviving examples, the more abstractly fashioned of the two (pl. 15) would have been suitable as a travelling shrine, whilst the more concretely temple-hall shaped one (pl. 14) with its much more fragile outer shape and protruding edges, would have been more permanently installed on a house altar.

The Temple Hall-shaped Shrine at Chiman-ji, Shizuoka

The temple hall-shaped shrine at Chiman-ji (智満寺) in Shizuoka (pl. 20) is carved from one piece of sandalwood measuring 12.5 cm in height and 14.7 cm in width. It is a unique example of a Japanese *dangan* since it represents a miniature copy of a temple-hall. The inside is carved with a seven-figure configuration and a canopy (J: *tengai*; 天蓋) above the central Buddha, faithfully copying the interior of a temple hall. This shrine certainly served as a personal devotional image allowing its owner to literally enter into a temple hall for prayer without leaving his own residence. Considering its structure, it may not have been as suitable for travelling as stūpa-shaped or box-shaped *dangan* and one can presume that it was more permanently installed as a private altar.

The outside of the shrine represents a temple hall of a four pillared structure with a hip-roof, the four sides dropping off flatly from an elongated horizontal ridge with two gables on top following the axis of the building. This hipped-and-gabled (J: *irimoya*; 入母屋) type roof is covered with tiles and is of a very early style seen in the Tamamushi

⁶⁸ In this context it is interesting that Watanabe Hajime has pointed out that the making of miniature temple halls already started in Japan in the mid-7th century with the making of the famous Tamamushi shrine at Hōryū-ji in Nara. Watanabe, “Chiman-ji zō,” p. 52.

Shrine and the Kondō of Tōshōdai-ji in Nara. Therefore, the *irimoya* type roof is of much earlier style than the date of making of the Chiman-ji shrine and suggests that the Chiman-ji shrine may have been copied from a much older prototype.

The base of the temple-hall is carved with five decorative panels each on the front (two have been obliterated) and back and a further three on each side. On the front of the shrine, next to the pillars on the left and right, indentations on the top and bottom suggest that hinges would have been attached to two doors, that could have been opened and closed in *kannon biraki* style.

The inside shows at its centre the seated figure of Amida Nyorai with his hands held in *dhyāna mudrā* (J: *jō-in*). Amida wears a robe that covers both shoulders with a finely incised, dense pattern of drapery folds that falls in circular movement across both knees. Amida's body is stocky with a swelling fleshiness and his face is round with full cheeks. The finely carved features show an expression of meditative calm. He sits on a dais with double-lotus petals and an unusual decorative border with round diadems.

To his right a standing Fudō Myōō and to his left a standing Yakushi Nyorai are finely carved in intricate details. These two figures are flanked by two Bodhisattvas, which can be identified as the traditional attendants to Amida—Kannon on the Buddha's left and Seishi (partially damaged) on his right. The two Bodhisattvas are of stocky build, adorned with finely carved scarves and crowns. At the back of Amida two monks stand with their hands folded in the gesture of adoration.

The expression of *shōgon* can be seen in the intricately carved mandorlas consisting of two intersecting discs with pearl-string borders surrounded by flames, the canopy (J: *tengai*) above Amida, and the finely incised lozenge pattern at the back of the shrine.

All this is aimed at recreating the *shōgon* of the inside of a temple hall in miniature form and make this shrine a unique example amongst *dangan*.

In terms of proportion and style of drapery, the Amida is close to the Yakushi Nyorai dated to the year 990 in the Daikōdō of Hōryū-ji in Nara.⁶⁹ This together with the stocky proportions of the other figures and their soft, fleshy faces point towards a date in the last quarter of the 10th century for this shrine.⁷⁰

The Temple Hall-shaped Shrine at the Kubosō Memorial Museum of Arts, Izumi City, Osaka

The temple hall-shaped shrine at the Kubosō Memorial Museum of Arts in Izumi City, Osaka (pl. 21) is carved from one block of sandalwood measuring 21.8 cm in height and is the only surviving Japanese *dangan* featuring the esoteric iconography of the Womb World Mandala (J: *Taizōkai mandara*; 胎藏界曼荼羅; Sk: *Garbhadhātu Mandala*), which is more typically seen in relief carved panels (J: *dan-inbutsu*).

The outside of the shrine does not imitate a temple hall as faithfully and concretely as the Chiman-ji shrine (pl. 20), but depicts it in a more abstract way. The strongest implication of a temple hall is expressed through the hipped-and-gabled roof (J: *irimoya*). However, the gables are depicted in the form of lotus buds and the roof is incised with a cloud pattern reflecting a much less realistic depiction of a temple hall than the Chiman-ji shrine. The base of the shrine is decorated with finely carved downward pointing lotus petals and a pearl-string border. Two doors are attached with hinges on the sides of the shrine and can be opened and closed in *kannon biraki* style. On the inside, across both

⁶⁹ Mizuno, et al., eds., *Byōdō-in to Jōchō*, pl. 34.

⁷⁰ This shrine has been variously dated to the late Fujiwara period by Watanabe Hajime and also to the 11th century. See Watanabe, “Chiman-ji zō,” p. 53; and Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Danzō*, p. 53, pl. 21.

doors, a decorative band with pearls is carved in the shape of an eight-petalled lotus flower, mirroring the eight-petalled lotus flower depicted on the inside of the shrine. The four inner corners of both doors are adorned with finely carved flowers that appear to be peonies.

The inside of the shrine surrounded by a pearl-string border, shows the central section of the *Taizōkai mandara* with the eight-petalled lotus flower (J: *chūdai hachiyōin*; 中台八葉院) depicting the Five Wisdom Buddhas (J: *gochi nyorai*; 五智如来; Sk: pañca-tathāgata) with Dainichi Nyorai at the centre and the remaining four Buddhas placed at the four cardinal directions interspersed with four Bodhisattvas as symbols of the different aspects of the absolute nature of Dainichi. Apart from Dainichi at the centre, they are clockwise from top: Hōdō Nyorai, Fugen Bosatsu, Kaifukēō Nyorai, Monju Bosatsu, Muryōju Nyorai, Kannon Bosatsu, Tenkuraion Nyorai and Miroku Bosatsu. In a deviation from the iconography of the *Taizōkai mandara*, the Four Heavenly Kings (J: Shitennō) are rather awkwardly placed in the four corners. The Shitennō are not only awkwardly placed, but also rather sketchily carved without the same attention to detail given to the other figures.

However, the decorative details of the shrine are well expressed in the sense of *shōgon* showing a very high level of craftsmanship. This can be seen in the mandorlas of the figures consisting of a large disc intersected by a smaller halo finely carved with pearl-string borders and flames as well as the intricate carving of the lotus flower at the centre around Dainichi Nyorai with such intricate details as the depiction of *vajra* ends emerging from between the lotus petals. The background of the shrine is further adorned with an elaborately incised lozenge pattern adding to the fine decoration of this

shrine. The shrine shows no traces of pigments.

The figures have squat, fleshy bodies with round, full, gently swelling faces and in terms of proportion and expression, particularly Dainichi, are closely related to those of the Amida triad of the Eishō-ji shrine (pl. 15) and suggest a date in the first half of the 11th century. The very flat, low relief carving of this shrine together with its esoteric iconography, which are both typical of relief carved sandalwood panels (J: *dan-inbutsu*), make this shrine a unique example in which the iconography and style of *dan-inbutsu* was blended with the structure of a temple hall-shaped *dangan* reflecting the great variety of *dangan* and the great ingenuity of sculptors during the Heian period.

4. Incense Container-shaped Boxes

Incense container-shaped boxes are a unique form of personal devotional images consisting of a small box with lid, the inside finely carved with Buddhist deities. Because of the resemblance of such boxes to incense containers, they are commonly called “incense container Buddhas” (J: *kōgōbutsu*; 香合仏). Due to their exceedingly small size, even in the context of *dangan*, and their round, handy shape they were ideal to be carried as personal amulets for the protection of their bearer.

Regarding the origin of such boxes, Itō Shiro has argued that they may be related to the legend of the “Clam Kannon” (J: Kōri Kannon; C: Geli Guanyin; 蛤蜊觀音). According to this legend, Emperor Wenzong (r. 826-40) of the Tang dynasty, who liked clams, one day found a clam in which the shape of a Bodhisattva appeared. In order to

preserve it, he had an incense box made out of *kinridan* (金栗檀; C: *jinlitan*), enshrined it in the Xingshansi (興善寺) in Chang'an and by imperial order had many similar Kannon sculptures made.⁷¹

Although it is possible that these "Clam Kannon" boxes were the precursors of Japanese *kōgōbutsu*, it is difficult to ascertain, since none of these boxes have survived in China. In any case, stylistically the Japanese *kōgōbutsu* must have evolved from small diptychs such as the Komatsu-dera panel (pl. 14) that consisted of two identically shaped panels, almost like a box and lid, that could be opened and closed and were carved in relief on the inside. Due to their small size and handy shape, they could be conveniently carried as an amulet close to the body for protection.⁷²

The earliest surviving Japanese *kōgōbutsu* (pl. 22) dates from the late Fujiwara period and it is possible that this extremely refined type of personal devotional image, which represents the highest form of sophistication in the expression of *shōgon*, came into existence during the Fujiwara period when the exacting aesthetic standards of the Fujiwara aristocracy demanded the greatest refinement for personal devotional icons.

The Incense Container-shaped Box in the Kyoto National Museum

The incense container-shaped box in the Kyoto National Museum (pl. 22) consists of a round box with lid carved from one piece of sandalwood measuring 8.6 cm in diameter and is the earliest and most splendid example of this type of sandalwood boxes.

The outside of the box is undecorated and the inside shows a magnificently carved

⁷¹ Itō, "Kōgōbutsu," p. 75.

⁷² Itō Shiro has suggested that Japanese *kōgōbutsu* were influenced by both the Chinese clam shape related to the Kōri Kannon and diptychs such as the Komatsu-dera panel (pl. 14). See Itō, "Kōgōbutsu," p. 76.

image of Senju Kannon. The inside of the lid is decorated with a finely carved brazier, its legs embellished with lion masks, floating on an elaborately carved cloud pattern. Itō Shiro has pointed out convincingly the close stylistic resemblance of this brazier to excavated examples of the late Fujiwara period.⁷³ Above the brazier, two flying musical instruments, a *shō* on the left and a flute on the right, with elegantly fluttering scarves are depicted. The carving of the fluttering scarves expresses a gentle, elegant movement, that is sublime. Underneath the brazier on the right Kudokuten dressed in a Chinese style robe with the hair tied to a chignon and on the left Basusen with his hair tied to a knot wearing a beard appears as an old man holding a stick in his left hand. Both Kudokuten and Basusen are part of the twenty-eight attendants (J: *nijūhachi bushū*; 二十八部衆) of Senju Kannon, who were commonly depicted in paintings in front of Senju Kannon. Both figures are superbly carved as can be seen in the intricate details of the drapery folds of their clothes and the fine facial features (Basusen's face is slightly rubbed). This close attention to decorative detail is demonstrated further in the painstakingly carved woven basket pattern covering the background.

The main image of Senju Kannon is shown seated in the common iconographic form with eleven faces and forty-two arms. One main pair of hands is folded in *añjali mudrā* in front of the chest and another pair of hands rests in Senju Kannon's lap holding an alms bowl (now lost). The remaining thirty-eight arms—nineteen on each side in three vertical rows—hold attributes that aid Senju Kannon in the task of saving all sentient beings. Senju Kannon is elaborately adorned with a pearl-necklace with three pendants in the shape of four-petalled flowers to which pearl-strings are attached. They fall elegantly

⁷³ Itō, "Kōgōbutsu," pp. 76-77.

across the upper body onto the knees held in place by a flower-shaped diadem on the abdomen. The sense of elaborate refinement is further enhanced through ribbons elegantly falling from the crown across the shoulders onto the elbows, a scarf (J: *jōhaku*) falling from the shoulder across the abdomen and *tenne* falling from the shoulders in two gentle circular curves across the knees. The dense circular drapery pattern on the *mo* and the deeply carved drapery of the cloth falling symmetrically in two sections from either side of the dais, add to the sense of decorative splendour (*shōgon*) of Senju Kannon and show the highest level of skill on the part of the sculptor.

Senju Kannon's elaborate throne further enhances the expression of *shōgon* and is divided into three parts: a lotus dais (J: *rengeza*; 蓮華座) decorated with three layers of upward pointing lotus petals and one layer of downward pointing lotus petals finely incised with veins, a middle part (J: *shikinasu*; 敷茄子) in the form of a pedestal with two holes similar in structure to the ones found on the Henmyō-in shrine, and lotus petals (J: *kaeribana*; 返花) surrounding a lotus pod as a base. The splendid decoration is further enhanced through the finely incised halo with a lotus scroll and a lozenge pattern interspersed with rice-grain pattern surrounded by a pearl-string border covering the background. No traces of colour or *kirikane* are visible giving room to the subtle variations in carving and incising so eloquently displayed.

Stylistically, the type of jewelry, the arrangement of drapery folds on *mo* and cloth falling from the dais, and the structure of the *rengeza* are similar to the Senju Kannon of the Shitenmō-ji *dangan* (pl. 17), although they are executed in a slightly more mature style with a greater sense of realism and movement—particularly on the drapery folds and cloth falling from the dais—pointing towards a date in the Kamakura period. Senju

Kannon's face, although retaining the gentleness of the Fujiwara period, has lost some of the full fleshiness and is more oval in shape than the Shitennō-ji example. This together with the thick nose bridge, are features more commonly associated with the Kamakura period style and point towards a date in the second half of the 12th century at the end of the Fujiwara period, which is also consistent with the style of the brazier, as pointed out earlier. The box is a superb example of the extreme refinement of *shōgon* reached under the Fujiwara period creating a personal devotional image that truly reflects aristocratic taste.

The Incense Container-shaped Box with Aizen Myōō at Saizen-in, Wakayama

The box without cover (now lost) at Saizen-in (西禅院) in Wakayama (pl. 23) is made from an unidentified hardwood—the inside carved with a single image of Aizen Myōō measuring 5.5 cm in diameter.

It represents Aizen as a so-called image of five-finger-widths height (J: *goshiryōzō*; 五指量像), which should be made out of sandalwood (*byakudan*) according to the *Yoga Sūtra* (J: *Yugi-kyō*; 瑜祇經) and was worn near the body as an amulet for personal protection against calamities caused by the sun and moon, celestial apparitions, and also against disasters on earth.⁷⁴ Large numbers of such *goshiryō* figures of Aizen were made during the Fujiwara and Kamakura periods, some texts mentioning the making of ten thousand on a single, special occasion.⁷⁵ Since *goshiryō* images of Aizen inside incense

⁷⁴ For an English translation of the passage in the *Yugi-kyō*, referring to the making of *goshiryō* images of Aizen out of sandalwood (*byakudan*), see Roger Goepper, *Aizen Myōō: The Esoteric King of Lust, An Iconological Study* (Zurich: Artibus Asiae Supplementum 39, 1993), p. 15.

⁷⁵ For an excellent discussion of the iconography of *goshiryō* images of Aizen and texts mentioning them, see Goepper, *Aizen Myōō*, pp. 40-43.

container-shaped boxes were convenient to be carried as amulets, one can assume that many were of this type and it is therefore surprising that, apart from the Saizen-in example, only two more examples, one kept at Tō-ji in Kyoto (pl. 24) and the other in a private collection in Japan, appear to have survived.⁷⁶

Aizen Myōō is seated on a dais with three layers of finely carved, upward pointing lotus petals. He is six-armed holding his typical attributes: the first pair of hands hold the *vajra* and *vajra* bell; the second pair the bow and arrow (partially missing); one hand on the right would have held a lotus flower (now missing); and one hand on the left is clenched to an empty fist. The scarf falling across the upper body and the drapery of the *mo* are sketchily carved and the greatest attention to detail is given to the modelling of Aizen's face with its bulging eyes, fiercely twisted eyebrows and fangs protruding from the mouth creating a wrathful expression most effectively. This expression is further enhanced by Aizen's hair standing up in anger and the expressive modelling of Aizen's crown in the form of a lion head with its large bulging eyes. Traces of red and black colour can be seen on Aizen's face and lion crown as well as on the background, which might have been painted with a red disk. Traces of *kirikane* can be seen on Aizen's hair, *mo* and chest depicting jewelry. On the back of the box, Aizen's Sanskrit syllable (J: *shuji*; 種子; Sk: *bīja*), "Hhūm," is written in *kindei* (金泥; glue diluted with water and mixed with gold dust).

The carving of the drapery folds of the *mo* and the restrained treatment of the body still show the influence of the late Fujiwara period style and suggest a date in the early

⁷⁶ The example in a private collection in Japan also dates from the Kamakura period and is the most crudely carved example of the three underlining the fact that this kind of *goshiryō* images of incense boxes might have been indeed mass-produced. For an illustration of this incense box, see Tanabe Saburōsuke, et al., *Buddha's Smile: Masterpieces of Japanese Buddhist Art* (Tokyo: London Gallery, 2000), p. 259, pl. 136.

Kamakura period at the end of the 12th or the first half of the 13th century. Considering its miniature size the box is very well carved, although not of the same superb craftsmanship as the one at Tō-ji (pl. 24) and demonstrates the range of artistic quality in which such personal devotional amulets were made.

The Incense Container-shaped Box with Aizen Myōō at Tō-ji, Kyoto

The incense container-shaped box at Tō-ji (東寺) in Kyoto (pl. 24) was carved from an unidentified hardwood consisting of a box with lid measuring 8.5 cm in diameter. Six small holes on the rim of the box and lid suggest that hinges might have been attached to it, which would have enabled one to open and close it. Considering its miniature size and shape, this would have made it convenient to be carried as a personal devotional image or amulet like the Saizen-in example (pl. 23).

The inside of the box shows a five-finger width image (J: *goshiryōzō*) of Aizen Myōō, the King of lust and physical desire. Whilst the inside of the lid, shows the Mandala of Aizen Myōō drawn in black ink consisting of a double square surrounded by a circle divided into sections with Sanskrit syllables (J: *shuji*). In the centre of the mandala a disc made out of rock crystal, painted with three flaming jewels (J: *nyoi hōju*) on a lotus flower with rays of light emanating, is inserted. The worship of wish-granting jewels was started by the esoteric Ono sect at Daigo-ji in Kyoto at the end of the Heian period by equating the relics of the Buddha (J: *shari*; 舍利) with the imaginary icon of flaming jewels.⁷⁷ One of the deities associated with flaming jewels was Aizen Myōō,

⁷⁷ For an excellent discussion of the transformation of relics into wish-granting jewels and their use in Buddhist rituals, see Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Busshari to Hōju: Shaka o shitau kokoro* (Nara: Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 2001), pp. 180-83.

most probably because of the vase filled with flaming jewels that forms part of his throne. It symbolises the power of the deity to grant wishes and in order to do so the *Jewel of the Aizen Myōō Rite* (J: *Nyohō Aizenōhō*; 如法愛染王法) was performed, which was believed to be particularly efficacious in influencing romantic relationships and for the safe delivery in child birth.⁷⁸ In rare cases, small *goshiryōzō* Aizen Myōō made out of sandalwood could be placed inside a small pagoda on an altar during the ceremony and this incense box may have been used for such purposes.⁷⁹

The superbly carved figure of Aizen Myōō is seated with six-arms holding the usual attributes: in his three right hands, he holds a *vajra*, an arrow and a lotus flower and in his three left hands he holds a *vajra* bell, a bow and the empty fist that holds the wish of the worshipper. His face and lion crown are most expressively carved with bulging eyes and widely opened mouth with fangs, conveying a sense of the deity's fierceness and wrath. Aizen is most elaborately adorned with finely carved and highly complex chains of jewelry, scarves, and arm-and brace-lets. The exceptional intricacy of carving can also be seen on the lotus petals of the dais and on the elaborately decorated vase filled with wish-granting jewels on which the dais rests. This magnificent adornment of *shōgon* is demonstrated further in the double-disc shaped mandorla with flames and the halo decorated with boldly incised swirls representing stylised flames, which convey a lively sense of movement. Three flaming jewels on lotus flowers are symmetrically arranged; three on each side of Aizen, representing the deity's close connection with flaming jewels and the ritual related to them.

⁷⁸ For a detailed discussion of the *Nyohō Aizenōhō* and its development, see Goepper, *Aizen Myōō*, pp. 144-51.

⁷⁹ Goepper, *Aizen Myōō*, p. 146.

Red, the colour of Aizen, has been applied to the entire background, flames of mandorla, jewels, the lips of Aizen, and the lion mask. Black ink can be seen on Aizen's eyebrows, hair and pupils and white on the eyes and fangs of Aizen and the lion crown. Colouring was therefore used sparsely only to highlight and to complement the superbly carved adornments.

The style of Aizen's jewelry, the stylised flames of the halo and the strong, realistic movement expressed in this figure, point towards a mature Kamakura style in the second half of the 13th century. This incense box is unique in its iconography and a superb example demonstrating that the highest level of craftsmanship and the most splendid expression of *shōgon* were still adhered to in the late Kamakura period.

CHAPTER 4

REPRESENTATIONS OF NYORAI

Nyorai (Sk: Tathāgata) are fully enlightened beings personifying the absolute and in this sense occupy the highest level of the Buddhist pantheon. Their personification of the absolute is expressed iconographically through the utmost simplicity and absence of any ornamentation—the only exception being Dainichi Nyorai (Sk: Mahāvairocana), who is adorned with jewelry and a crown in the form of a royal Bodhisattva or the ruler of all Buddhas (Sk: cakravartin).

Due to the iconographic requirement of utmost simplicity for representations of Nyorai, the expression of *shōgon*—a vital element of *danzō*—on *danzō* representing Nyorai posed a considerable artistic challenge to the Buddhist sculptor. Unlike on *danzō* representing Bodhisattvas, on which the iconographic requirements for elaborate jewelry, arm-and brace-lets, earrings, crowns, and scarves provided ample opportunity for the expression of the splendour of *shōgon*, Nyorai were iconographically required to be unadorned. Therefore, the sculptor expressed the elaborate adornment of *shōgon* on Nyorai *danzō* in the intricate ornamentation of their mandorlas and lotus pedestals. That elaborate and intricate ornamentation in the sense of *shōgon* was applied to lotus pedestals of *danzō* from an early age is evidenced by the elaborate lotus dais dating from the Nara period in the Shōsō-in (pl. 25), which displays the highest level of craftsmanship and intricate ornamentation. The increasing refinement and intricacy of ornamentation as an expression of *shōgon* can be seen in the intricate carving of the mandorla and dais of the Shōji-ji Yakushi (pl. 26) of the early Heian and the Ninna-ji Kita-in Yakushi (pl. 27)

of the late Heian period. This way of expressing *shōgon* on Nyorai *danzō* continued into the Kamakura period (pl. 30).

Another important means for the expression of the splendour of *shōgon* on *danzō* Nyorai is the use of intricate *kirikane*. The custom of decorating *danzō* with intricate *kirikane* patterns was introduced from China, although it is not entirely clear when this occurred.¹ The earliest use of *kirikane* on a Nyorai *danzō* in Japan can be seen on the Shōji-ji Yakushi (pl. 26), which dates from the mid-9th century. At this early stage *kirikane* was only applied as a highlight along the drapery folds and pedestal. However, by the early 12th century *kirikane* was used as an important artistic means to express *shōgon* through the most complex and elaborate decorative patterns as can be seen in the Yakushi Nyorai of Ninna-ji Kita-in (pl. 27) and Ishibe Jinja (pl. 28).² The elaborate and sumptuous use of *kirikane* on *danzō* of this period reflects the permeation of the religious-aesthetic concept of *shōgon* with the worldly concept of *birei* (美麗, splendour)—an aesthetic concept, which had a strong impact on the style of Buddhist sculptures during the reign of cloistered Emperors Shirakawa (白河天皇; r. 1072-1086) and particularly Toba (鳥羽天皇; r. 1107-1123).³

Of the seven surviving *danzō* representing Nyorai, two date from the 9th century (pls. 26, 29), two from the 12th century (pls. 27, 28) and three from the 13th century (pls. 30-

¹ The earliest Chinese example with extensive *kirikane* patterns is the *dangan* at Hōon-ji in Kyoto, which dates from the 10th century (pl. 18). For a brief discussion of the use of *kirikane* on *danzō*, see Ariga Yoshitaka, *Taikin to saishiki*, Nihon no bijutsu, no. 373 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1997), pp. 39-40.

² For a detailed discussion of the development of *kirikane* patterns on *danzō* of the Fujiwara period, see Itō, "Ninna-ji Kyū Kita-in," pp. 22-24.

³ Mukasa Akira has extensively researched the importance of the aesthetic concept of *birei* for Buddhist sculptures during the Insei period. For a detailed discussion, see Mukasa Akira, "Heian kōki kyūtei kiken no biishiki to butsuzōkan," in Nihon bijutsu zenshū, vol. 6, *Byōdō-in to Jōchō: Heian no kenchiku chōkoku* 2, eds. Mizuno Keizaburō, et al. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1994), pp. 184-85 and 187; and Mukasa Akira, "Inseiki no zōbutsu to Birei no butsuzō," in *Inseiki no sazen to bijutsu*, Kenkyū happyō to zadankai, vol. 28: Josei kenkyūkai hōkokusho (Kyoto: Bukkyō bijutsu kenkyū Ueno kinen zaidan, 2001), pp. 22-25

32). Nevertheless, textual evidence suggests that *danzō* representing Nyorai were made throughout the Heian period—even during the 10th and 11th centuries—but unfortunately no actual examples from this period have survived.

As an example of a 10th century record mentioning Nyorai *danzō*, the *Shoshazan Enkyōji kyūki*, edited by Enshō, in an entry on the twenty-sixth day of the fifth month of Eien 1 (987) lists amongst many other images in the main hall “one *byakudan* Yakushi Butsu.”⁴ Another document, which attests to the making of Nyorai *danzō* during the 11th century is an entry in the *Fusō ryakki* on the twenty-fifth day of the ninth month of Jiryaku 1 (1065), which states that a *Yokkahachiza hōe* was performed at the imperial palace by aristocrats and a ceremony was performed for Emperor Gosuzaku (後朱雀天皇; r. 1036-1045), in which a *byakudan* Shaka triad and a copy of the *Lotus Sūtra* (J: *Hōkke-kyō*; 法華經) written by the emperor in gold were presented.⁵ Both of these records illustrate that the making and offering of *danzō* representing Nyorai was conducted throughout the Heian period, but unfortunately no actual examples of the 10th and 11th centuries have survived.

Documents also suggest that the most popularly depicted Nyorai *danzō* of the Heian period—in order of preference and frequency of depiction—were Amida Nyorai, Yakushi Nyorai, and Shaka Nyorai. Whilst there are three surviving examples of Yakushi *danzō* of the Heian period (pls. 26-28)—the largest number of any surviving Nyorai *danzō*—there are no surviving examples of Shaka Nyorai from the Heian period and only one example from the Kamakura period (pl. 30). Not a single actual example of a *danzō* Amida has survived, in spite of their frequent recordings in records of the Heian period

⁴ *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 2/1, pp. 143 and 148; Kuno, “Danzō chōkoku,” p. 40.

⁵ *Kokushi Taikei*, vol. 6 (Tokyo: Keizai Zashisha, 1898), p. 808; Kuno, “Danzō chōkoku,” p. 48.

reflecting their popularity. An entry in the *Fusō ryakki* on the twenty-seventh day of the second month of Shōryaku 2 (991) states that for the *Shichishichinichi gohōji* (commemoration ceremony) for Emperor Enyū (円融天皇; r. 969-984), one *byakudan* Amida Nyorai, Kannon and Seishi Bosatsu and eight copies of the *Myōhōrenge-kyō* (妙法蓮華經) written in gold were made.⁶ Furthermore, the *Honchōseiki* (本朝世紀) in an entry on the twenty-second day of the tenth month of Chōhō 4 (1002) records that a *Hokke hakkō* was held for the deceased Higashi Sanjō-in in the Ichijō palace and the main image was a triad of a *byakudan* Amida, Monju and Fugen Bosatsu made by Kōjō (康尚).⁷ An entry in the *Eiga monogatari* around Giryaku 3 (1067) states that Empress Akiko (wife of retired Emperor Goreizei [後冷泉天皇; r. 1045-1068] and daughter of Emperor Goichijō [後一条天皇; r. 1016-1036]) commissioned a *byakudan* Amida triad of three *shaku* in height for a *Hokke hakkō*.⁸

Moreover, it is interesting to note that a number of records between the 10th and 12th centuries such as the above mentioned entries in the *Fusō ryakki* on the twenty-seventh day of the second month of Shōryaku 2 (991) and on the twenty-fifth day of the ninth month of Jiryaku 1 (1065), mention the offering of Nyorai *danzō* or *danzō* triads together with illuminated sūtras written in gold. Both *danzō* and illuminated sūtras epitomize the concept of *shōgon* through their splendid adornment and sumptuous ornamentation.⁹ The offering of both *danzō* and illuminated sūtras written in gold recorded in documents of the Heian period clearly shows that the commissioning and making of these objects of *shōgon* was seen as a means to accumulate religious merits—

⁶ *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 2/1, p. 759; Kuno, “Danzō chōkoku,” p. 40.

⁷ *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 2/4, p. 700; Kuno, “Danzō chōkoku,” p. 47.

⁸ *Eiga monogatari zenchūshaku*, vol. 7, p. 206.

⁹ For a detailed discussion of illuminated sūtras, see Egami Yasushi, *Sōshokukyō*, Nihon no bijutsu, no. 278 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1989).

for both artists and patrons—and at the same time expressed the refined aristocratic taste of the late Heian period for religious objects.

1. Yakushi Nyorai

Yakushi Nyorai (薬師如来; Sk: Bhaisajyaguru), the Buddha of Medicine or Healing, when still a Bodhisattva made twelve vows to heal the physical and mental illnesses of all sentient beings. Although the worship and representation of Yakushi in Japan began much later than that of Shaka and Amida Nyorai—sometime in the second half of the 7th century—the promise of worldly benefits such as the release from physical and mental diseases and afflictions made Yakushi an immensely popular deity, particularly during the first part of the Heian period.¹⁰ Yakushi resides in the Pure Land of Blue Gem Light in the East (J: Tōhō Rurikō Jōdo; 東方瑠璃光浄土), which is the counterpart to Amida's Pure Land in the West (J: Jōdo).

Iconographically, until the end of the Nara period, Yakushi is depicted with his right hand in the fear-not gesture (Sk: *abhaya mudrā*; J: *semui-in*) and his left hand in the wish-granting gesture (Sk: *varada mudrā*; J: *yogan-in*) and from the end of the Nara period, he generally holds a medicine jar (J: *yakko*; 薬壺) in his left hand.¹¹ Yakushi is accompanied by his two attendants, the Bodhisattvas of the sun (Sk: *Sūryaprabha*; J: *Nikkō*) and moon (Sk: *Candraprabha*; J: *Gakkō*) (pl. 27). He is further accompanied by

¹⁰ For a detailed discussion of the reception of Yakushi worship in Japan, see Itō Shiro, *Yakushi Nyoraizō*, *Nihon no bijutsu*, no. 242 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1986), pp. 25-38.

¹¹ Itō, “Ninna-ji Kyū Kita-in honzon,” p. 15.

the Twelve Generals (J: Jūni Shinshō; 十二神將) for his protection (pls. 26, 27).

Yakushi's manifold manifestations are called the "Seven Yakushi" (J: Shichibutsu Yakushi) and are often depicted on his mandorla (pls. 26, 27).¹²

The medical and ascribed spiritual properties of sandalwood with its strong association of healing of both physical and spiritual ailments made it an ideal material for the representation of Yakushi Nyorai, the Buddha of Healing. The combination of sandalwood with the iconography of Yakushi Nyorai resulted in *danzō* of special efficacy in the cure of physical and mental ailments of the worshipper. Therefore, the three surviving Yakushi *danzō* are not only the largest number of any surviving *danzō* representing Nyorai, but Yakushi *danzō* were also frequently recorded in documents throughout the Heian period. The *Shoshazan Enkyōji Kyūki*, in an entry on the twenty-sixth day of the fifth month of Eien 1 (987) lists amongst many other images in the main hall "one *byakudan* Yakushi Butsu."¹³

The Yakushi Nyorai at Shōji-ji, Kyoto

The seated figure of Yakushi Nyorai, the Buddha of Healing, at Shōji-ji (勝持寺) in Kyoto (pl. 26) is the earliest surviving *danzō* representing this deity. It is remarkable for its miniscule size of only 9.1 cm in height and the complete state of preservation of its intricately carved throne and mandorla. The Yakushi and dais, including the first layer of lotus petals, are carved from one piece of sandalwood in *ichiboku zukuri* and the remaining parts of the throne and the mandorla are separately carved from sandalwood

¹² For a detailed discussion of the iconography of Yakushi Nyorai, see Itō, *Yakushi Nyoraizō*, pp. 18-21 and pp. 41-42 for a discussion of the origin and meaning of the Shichibutsu Yakushi.

¹³ *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 2/1, pp. 143 and 148; Kuno, "Danzō chōkoku," p. 40.

and attached.

Yakushi is seated in the half-lotus posture (Sk: *vīrāsana*; J: *hanka-za*) with his right hand raised in *abhaya mudrā* (J: *semui-in*; 施無畏印) and his left hand resting on his knee holding the medicine jar (J: *yakko*; 藥壺). The folded legs provide a wide base for the muscular upper body with its broad chest and fleshy arms creating a sense of balance and monumentality, which completely belies the miniscule size of the figure. This sense of monumentality is further enhanced by Yakushi's robe with its deeply carved circular drapery folds in "rolling wave pattern" (*honpa shiki*) adding to the sense of weight and volume of the body. The *honpa shiki* ranges from the deeply carved drapery folds with high ridges on both knees and the left arm to the softer and less pronounced carving of half U-shaped folds falling across the chest to the very soft and shallow carving of the folds on the portion of the robe draped around the right shoulder demonstrating the varied range of expression employed by the sculptor, which testifies to his great technical skill of miniature carving. Three thick neck rings (J: *sandō*; 三道) connect the chest to the head, which is rather small in proportion to the massive body, a characteristic typical of many 9th century sculptures. The broad face with its low forehead, prominent nose, pursed lips, high-arched eyebrows, and slanted eyes emphasises broadness. It is finely carved with even small details such as the *ūrnā* on the forehead and has a gentle, child-like expression. In terms of style, body proportions and facial features this Yakushi is very similar to the Yakushi Nyorai of Kuroishi-dera (黒石寺) in Iwate dated to the year 862.¹⁴ In its treatment of *honpa shiki* and body proportions the Shōji-ji Yakushi is also similar to the Yakushi Nyorai of Shōjō-ji (勝常寺) in Fukushima dated to the first half of

¹⁴ Illustrated in Mizuno, et al., eds., *Mikkyō jīn to butsuzō*, p. 134, pl. 107.

the 9th century.¹⁵

The magnificent mandorla, which is a technical tour de force, represents a gem of miniature carving skill, which enabled the sculptor to express the most splendid ornamentation in the sense of *shōgon*, a vital aspect in the representation of *danzō*, which due to the iconographic limitations of Yakushi Nyorai could not be expressed in the sculpture itself. On the lower half of the mandorla, the Twelve Generals (J: Jūni Shinshō) are depicted in groups of six to the left and right of Yakushi for his protection. They are intricately carved in animated poses, some of them wearing body armour with crisply carved individual facial features. The upper half of the mandorla is intricately carved with large leaves and branches, which make this part of the mandorla appear like a tree. Particularly intricately carved and incised leaves and half of a five-pronged *vajra* (J: *gokosho*; 五鈷杵) form a very unusual halo behind the head of Yakushi. Against the background of leaves six small images of Yakushi are depicted on the left and right, which together with the main image of Yakushi represent the seven manifestations of Yakushi (J: Shichibutsu Yakushi; 七仏薬師).¹⁶ Each of these tiny images is intricately carved and shows Yakushi seated on a lotus pedestal surrounded by a mandorla with his right hand raised in *abhaya mudrā* and with his left hand holding a medicine jar. The small image of a Buddha seated on top of the mandorla wearing a crown with his hands folded in *dhyāna mudrā* (J: *jō-in*; 定印), iconographically, does not belong to the group of the Shichibutsu Yakushi. Due to its crown and *mudrā* it can only be either a representation of Dainichi Nyorai or Guhari no Amida (紅顔梨色阿弥陀)—an esoteric

¹⁵ Illustrated in Mizuno, et al., eds., *Mikkyō jūin to butsuzō*, p. 135, pl. 114.

¹⁶ Samuel Morse has pointed out that judging from surviving examples, sculptors of the early Heian period seem to have been unsure whether to count the main image of Yakushi as one of the Shichibutsu Yakushi and as a result whether to depict six or seven small images (*kebutsu*) of Yakushi on the mandorla. Morse, “The Formation of the Plain-Wood Style,” p. 241.

form of Amida Nyorai.¹⁷

However, the five-pronged *vajra* underneath the Buddha's throne allows one to identify it as a representation of Guhari no Amida, since the throne of Guhari no Amida is supported by a vertically placed single-point vajra, which in turn, rests on a horizontally placed five-pronged *vajra*.¹⁸ The fact that on the outside of the lower, round layer (J: *shitakamachi*; 下框) of the throne of the Shōji-ji Yakushi single-pointed vajra and on the outside of the upper, octagonal layer (J: *uwakamachi*; 上框) five-pronged *vajra* are carved may be linked iconographically to the representation of Guhari no Amida or at least attests to the fact that this image was commissioned and used by a follower of either the esoteric Shingon or Tendai sect. The two layers of the throne are embellished with boldly carved lotus petals and medallions with flower ornaments. The round circular middle part (J: *shikinasu*; 敷茄子), which connects the steps of the lower throne to the lotus dais, is carved with four perforations in the shape of four-petalled flowers. The structure of the entire throne is extremely sophisticated and the decoration expresses the fine ornamentation with great attention to detail in the sense of *shōgon*.

Shōgon is further expressed in the use of *kirikane*, traces of which can be seen on the ridges of the drapery of Yakushi and his throne. This Yakushi is one of the earliest examples of *danzō* using *kirikane* as an expression of *shōgon*. However, it is only sparsely used to highlight the outlines of the carving and thus has an enhancing effect from where it would develop into a vital element in the expression of *shōgon* with the most intricate ornamentation in its own right by the Fujiwara period (pls. 27, 28).

¹⁷ Guhari no Amida is the main image used in the secret rite of *Guharihihō* (紅頗梨秘法), which is set out in the *Muryōju nyorai kuyō sahōshidai* (無量寿如来供養作法次第) said to have been edited by Kūkai. For a more detailed discussion of Guhari no Amida, see Mitsumori, *Amida Nyorai*, pp. 66-67.

¹⁸ There are some instances, in which two five-pronged vajra are represented, see Mitsumori, *Amida Nyorai*, p. 66.

The Shōji-ji Yakushi due to its similarities in style and body proportions to the Yakushi figures at the Kuroishi-dera in Iwate dated 862 A.D. and the Shōjō-ji in Fukushima dated to the first half of the 9th century can be dated to the mid-9th century. It is a masterpiece of miniature carving skill with a most unusual iconography representing Guhari no Amida and different types of *vajra*, which clearly link it to one of the esoteric sects and eloquently shows how the sculptor—restricted by the iconography of Yakushi—expressed the splendour of *shōgon*, so essential to *danzō*, in the mandorla and throne of the sculpture.

The Yakushi Nyorai at Ninna-ji, Kyoto

The seated Yakushi Nyorai of Kita-in (北院) at Ninna-ji (仁和寺) in Kyoto (pl. 27) is the most sumptuously carved and decorated example amongst the surviving *danzō* representing Nyorai.

The history of the Kita-in shows that this sculpture is a replacement for an earlier image lost to fire. The *Ninna-ji kita-in kuyō ganmon* (仁和寺北院供養願文), which is part of the *Gōtōtokunagon ganmonshū* (江都督納言願文集), records that the Kita-in was opened on the twentieth day of the eleventh month of Eiho 2 (1082) and that its *honzon* was a Yakushi Nyorai made out of sandalwood of six *sun* in height with a mandorla carved with representations of the Shichibutsu Yakushi and Nikkō and Gakkō Bosatsu and a dais carved with the representations of the Jūni Shinshō. This record further implies that this figure was brought from Tang China by Kūkai and prior to its placement in the Kita-in was the personal devotional icon (J: *nenji butsu*) of Prince Nyūdō Moroaki (入道

師明), the ordained Prince Ōomuro Shōshin (大御室性信).¹⁹ Although this record might contain a strong legendary element, it is very likely that the Yakushi Nyorai originally enshrined at the Kita-in was a *danzō* brought from Tang China and the attempt to link it with important personalities such as Kūkai and Prince Ōomuro Shōshin suggests that it was an image held in very high esteem.²⁰ The subsequent events that resulted in the loss of this statue to fire and the making of a replacement figure are recorded in the *Sanzōki ruijū* and can be summarised as follows:

In the Kita-in fire of 8th January 1103, the statue was lost to fire apart from the base and the part from the waist down. On 1st April of the same year work began on site replacing the image by the sculptors Ensei and Chōen. On 4th May it was completed and the eyes inserted. On 11th July 1104, the completion ceremony was performed and the remains of the old image were put inside. It was then temporarily placed in the Kannon-in.²¹

Ensei (円勢, d. 1134), who was the third-generation sculptor in the line of Jōchō (定朝; d. 1057) and had succeeded Chōsei (長勢; d. 1091), and his son Chōen (長円; d. 1150), who are mentioned as the makers of the Kita-in Yakushi in the above entry, were mostly engaged in making sculptures for court aristocrats at important temples such as the Rokushō-ji (六勝寺) and for the temple projects of the retired Emperors Shirakawa and Toba.²² The fact that these two important sculptors were chosen for this project underlines the importance placed on the task of replacing this *danzō* and that the lost sculpture must have been held in very high esteem as a particularly sacred and precious

¹⁹ Itō, “Ninna-ji Kyū Kita-in honzon,” pp. 11-12.

²⁰ An entry in the *Hyakurenshō* states that the sculpture was brought by Dengyō Daishi (Saichō) and reflects the differing accounts as to who brought the sculpture, which clearly contain a strong legendary element, but in any case reflect the desire to link the sculpture to important personalities. Itō, “Ninna-ji Kyū Kita-in honzon,” p. 31, footnote 2; *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 3/6, ed. Tokyo teikoku daigaku (Tokyo: Tokyo teikoku daigaku, 1934), p. 801.

²¹ Itō Shiro, “Kyū Kita-in Yakushi Nyorai zazō (hōkoku),” in *Ninna-ji no bukkyō bijutsu*, Kenkyū happyo to zadankai, vol. 18: Josei kenkyūkai hōkokusho (Kyoto: Bukkyō bijutsu kenkyū Ueno kinen zaidan, 1989), p. 11; *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 3/6, p. 800.

²² For a more detailed account of the lives and activities of *bussshi* Ensei and Chōen, see Itō, “Ninna-ji Kyū Kita-in honzon,” pp. 25-27 and 24-25 for a table of their most important commissions.

image. Furthermore, since the original sculpture was said to have been the personal devotional icon of Prince Ōmuro Shōshin, it reflects the desire to appoint sculptors who were familiar with the taste and aesthetic standards of aristocrats of that time and who were able to create an image of the greatest sublimity reflecting these aesthetic standards.

The Yakushi Nyorai presently kept at the Reimei-den (霊明殿) at Ninna-ji (pl. 27) is the replacement figure made by the sculptors Ensei and Chōen in 1103. The sculpture itself measures 10.7 cm in height and including the throne and round halo measures 21.9 cm. The figure of Yakushi is carved out of one piece of sandalwood in *ichiboku zukuri* and the seven-layered throne (J: *shumiza*; 須弥座) and mandorla—consisting of a square panel, round halo, and the pole keeping the halo in place—are made from various parts of sandalwood and have been assembled. This reflects the same concern with the making of the main image out of one single block of sandalwood in *ichiboku zukuri*, whilst the throne and mandorla were assembled from various parts of sandalwood as seen in the mid-9th century Shōji-ji Yakushi (pl. 26). It demonstrates that this technique was not only common in *danzō* of the Fujiwara period, but also in earlier *danzō* and Itō Shiro has suggested the possibility that this construction was adopted from Tang dynasty *danzō* imported from China, although there is no conclusive evidence for that.²³ X-ray photography has shown that there is a triangular hollowing (J: *uchiguri*; 内割り) inside the upper body and both legs of Yakushi.²⁴ Since this is not a structural necessity for a small sculpture of this size and highly unusual for *danzō*, one has to pay attention to the fact that the above mentioned *Sanzōki ruijū* records that on the 11th July 1104 the remains of the burnt Yakushi were placed inside the Kita-in Yakushi on the occasion of

²³ Itō, “Ninna-ji Kyū Kita-in honzon,” p. 21.

²⁴ For X-ray photographs of the Kita-in Yakushi, see Itō, “Ninna-ji Kyū Kita-in honzon,” pls. 21, 22.

the completion ceremony for the sculpture. However, none of these remains can be found inside the Yakushi today and Itō Shiro has argued that they might have been removed when the lower part of the throne was replaced during the Edo period.²⁵ However, it is an interesting point that the remains of an older sculpture, which must have been held in great esteem for its special sacredness and efficacy, were inserted into the new icon reflecting the wish to transfer the special sacredness and efficacy of the old image onto the new one.

The Yakushi is seated in *padmāsana* (J: *kekka fuza*) with his right hand raised in *abhaya mudrā* (J: *semui-in*) and with his left hand holding the medicine jar (later replacement). Both knees rest solidly on the dais providing a stable base for the rather short, squat upper body that shows a soft, child-like fleshiness. The robe covers the left shoulder and is draped around the right shoulder leaving the lower right arm bare. The drapery folds are crisply carved and skilfully accentuate the robe around the lower abdomen, on the left arm, and both knees. The gentle rhythm of evenly spaced circular folds on both knees is continued on the parts of the robe that spill over the edge of the dais conveying a naturalistic sense of the fabric.

The soft, child-like fleshiness of the body is further expressed in the modelling of the face with its full, fleshy cheeks. The small mouth with its pursed lips, short nose and thinly slanted eyes are delicately carved and situated in the lower half of the face resulting in a gentle, child-like expression. The rather large, slightly protruding head topped by a high, gently-rounded *usnīsa* (J: *nikkei*) adds to the sense of weight and soft volume enhancing the child-like expression. Itō Shiro has pointed out that the child-like expression of this sculpture is entirely absent in the Jōchō style, which was the prevalent

²⁵ Itō, “Ninna-ji Kyū Kita-in honzon,” p. 21.

style during this period and that, therefore, it must reflect Ensei's own style, which in terms of its child-like expression originated in the style of Kōjō, who is presumed to have been Jōchō's father.²⁶

The superbly carved mandorla behind Yakushi consists of a square-shaped panel with a round halo in front. This style of mandorla with mythical animals carved on the edge of the square-shaped panel originated in India of the Gupta period (320- 600 A.D.) and was transmitted to China during the Tang dynasty (618-906 A.D.), where it was depicted either with or without the decoration of mythical animals.²⁷ In Japan, particularly during the Fujiwara period, this type of mandorla is extremely rare. Since the original sculpture of Kita-in can be presumed to have been an imported *danzō* from Tang China, it is possible that this style of mandorla faithfully copies the one of the original sculpture lost to fire. The front of the square panel is divided into three rectangular decorative panels by two vertical decorative bands with carved floral ornaments. The central panel covered by the figure of Yakushi is finely incised with an intricate lozenge pattern. The left and right panels are carved in high relief with Nikkō (Sk: Sūryaprabha) and Gakkō (Sk: Candraprabha) Bosatsu—the usual attendants to Yakushi.

In spite of their miniscule size, the complex drapery folds of the *mo*, the elegantly flowing scarves (J: *tenne*), the elaborately decorated crowns, and the lotus stems with the sun and moon discs are intricately carved showing the highest level of miniature carving skill. Their faces are delicately carved with fine facial features showing the gentle, suave expression typical of Fujiwara period sculpture. The careful attention to decorative detail

²⁶ For a discussion of the Kita-in Yakushi in the context of the style of the En school, see Itō, "Ninna-ji Kyū Kita-in honzon," pp. 27-29.

²⁷ For an example of the Gupta period from Sāmāth, see Harle, *The Art and Architecture of the Indian Subcontinent*, p. 109, pl. 84. For Tang dynasty examples from the Qibaotai, Guangzhaisi in Xi'an, see Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkyō*, vol. 3, pls. 659a, 660, 661, 662b.

can also be seen on their elaborately carved lotus pedestals consisting of a pedestal with a double layer of upward pointing lotus petals (J: *rengeza*), a middle part with perforations in the shape of flowers (J: *shikinasu*), a band of downward pointing lotus petals (J: *kaeribana*) and a hexagonal base with legs (J: *kamachi*). The background of the panel of the two Bodhisattvas is divided into an upper part decorated with an elaborate net pattern of hexagonal forms and a lower part finely incised with plant motifs. The entire front of the panel is surrounded by a pearl-string border.

The back of the square panel continues the magnificent decoration on the front with a rectangular central panel decorated with intricately carved *hōsōge karakusa* (宝相華唐草) pattern surrounded by a decorative border with stylised floral motifs. The fluidity and sumptuousness of the decoration are exquisite and eloquently express the concept of *shōgon*.

Shōgon is equally well depicted in the ornamentation of the circular halo, on which the Seven Manifestations of Yakushi (J: Shichibutsu Yakushi) are arranged in circular motion around an intricately carved six-petalled lotus flower. Each Yakushi is seated on a lotus pedestal with the right hand raised in *abhaya mudrā* and with the left hand holding the medicine jar. The miniscule figures are intricately carved with a complex array of drapery folds and delicate, clearly defined facial features demonstrating the superb miniature carving skills of *busshi* Ensei and Chōen. The halo is surrounded by a pearl-string border and flames, which are a later replacement.

The back of the halo displays the same delicate and sumptuous carving of floral decoration as the back of the square panel. The centre is decorated with an intricate eight-petalled lotus blossom surrounded by a circular band of *hōsōge* leaves with one blossom

depicted in the most fluent style. The variation in carving technique from the most boldly carved lotus petals to the fine and delicate incisions on the individual *hōsōge* leaves results in a visual feast that can be seen as the perfect expression of *shōgon*. The contrast between the static lotus blossom in the centre and the moving *hōsōge* scrolls further adds to the sumptuousness of the decoration.

The sublime splendour of *shōgon* is also expressed in the elaborate seven-layered throne, which is of the type representing Mount Sumeru (J: *shumiza*). The first and second layer, which is a rectangular base with small feet are later replacements. The third layer is decorated with downward pointing lotus-petals (J: *kaeribana*) each intricately carved in high relief. The fourth layer is carved in relief with a lozenge pattern. The fifth layer represents the visual focal point of the *shumiza* consisting of four rectangular panels surrounded by pearl-string borders representing three of the Twelve Guardians (J: Jūni Shinshō) on each panel. The miniscule guardians are most intricately carved wearing elaborate body armour and boots and some of them wear helmets. The fluttering scarves and hair of some of the guardians together with their animated poses create a sense of movement and demonstrate the superb craftsmanship of the two sculptors in expressing a lively sense of movement in such a confined space. The excellent miniature carving skills of the two *busshi* can also be seen in the expressively carved facial features of the guardians displaying varied facial expressions, some of them quite humorous. The sixth and seventh layers of the *shumiza* are divided into two rectangular panels intricately carved with stylised floral motifs. The robe covering the seventh layer of the *shumiza* is attached in two parts.

The sublime carving of the splendid ornamentation with the greatest attention to even

the most minute details on the mandorla and *shumiza* represent the perfect expression of the concept of *shōgon*. However, this takes on an entirely new form typical of the Fujiwara period through the lavish application of *kirikane*, which is applied on the drapery folds and pedestals of the Buddha and Bodhisattva figures, on the mandorla and on the armour, scarves, and attributes of the guardian figures on the *shumiza*. It is also effectively used in more or less strictly applied patterns on the front and back of the mandorla and *shumiza* greatly enhancing the sense of *shōgon*. However, the most sumptuous *kirikane* patterns are applied to the robe of Yakushi. They are a combination of abstract motifs, floral scrolls and medallions with floral motifs creating an overall pattern of great delicacy and gracefulness, which provides a visual focal point for the sculpture.²⁸ The refined intricacy and splendour of the *kirikane* patterns on the robe of Yakushi are of the same artistic quality as the intricate carving on the mandorla and *shumiza* and greatly enhance the sense of *shōgon*. It shows the great ingenuity of Fujiwara sculptors to express the splendour of *shōgon* through the artistic means of *kirikane* on a *danzō* Nyorai sculpture itself, which due to the iconographic restrictions of Nyorai, would have been previously impossible. Although the simple application of *kirikane* as a highlight on drapery folds and parts of the throne can already be seen in the Shōji-ji Yakushi of the mid-9th century, it was not yet an independent means for the splendid expression of *shōgon* as seen in the sumptuous and complex *kirikane* patterns of the Kita-in Yakushi.²⁹

²⁸ For a table categorizing the various patterns of *kirikane* applied to the Kita-in Yakushi, see Itō, “Ninna-ji Kyū Kita-in honzon,” p. 22.

²⁹ Itō Shiro has argued convincingly that there was a clear evolution in the development of *kirikane* on *danzō* of the Heian period from the simple use of single lines along drapery folds as seen in the mid-9th century Shōji-ji Yakushi (pl. 26) to the intricate patterns on the robe of the Kita-in Yakushi dated 1103. Since both single lines of *kirikane* along the drapery folds on the Nikkō and Gakkō Bosatsu and Shichibutsu Yakushi of the mandorla and complex patterns on Yakushi’s robe were applied, Itō has argued that the Kita-in Yakushi belongs to a transitional period between the two styles of using *kirikane*. For a

The sumptuousness and gracefulness of the *kirikane* patterns together with the elegance and intricacy of carving, expresses a refined splendour hitherto unknown in this form and reflects the aesthetic-religious concept of *shōgon* permeated with the worldly concept of splendour, *birei* (美麗), which resulted in a refinement of style and expression unique to the Insei period (1068-1185).³⁰ Therefore the Kita-in Yakushi, besides being the only confirmed work by the sculptor Ensei, which allows one to study Ensei's personal style so distinctly different from Jōchō's, is the most splendid *danzō* of a Nyorai expressing the unique form of sumptuous ornamentation, which resulted from the unification of the worldly aesthetic concept of *birei* with the aesthetic-religious concept of *shōgon* creating a refinement of expression epitomizing the aristocratic taste of the Insei period.³¹

The Yakushi Nyorai at Ishibe Jinja, Shiga

The seated Yakushi Nyorai, which is the *honji-butsu* (本地仏) of Ishibe Jinja (石部神社) in Shiga (pl. 28) is another prime example of a Nyorai *danzō* of the Fujiwara period. The sculpture itself is carved out of one block of *kaya* in *ichiboku zukuri* without any hollowing (J: *uchiguri*). It measures 30.3 cm in height and the overall height including the throne and mandorla is 60 cm. The carving of the figure in *ichiboku zukuri* with the

detailed discussion of the development of *kirikane* on *danzō* of the Fujiwara period, see Itō, "Ninna-ji Kyū Kita-in honzon," pp. 22-25.

³⁰ Mukasa Akira has pointed out that the worldly aesthetic concept of *birei*, which was based on the concept of *kazari* (飾り), penetrated into the sacred aesthetic-religious concept of *shōgon* during the Insei period, which led to a style putting greater emphasis on worldly splendour and decoration reflecting the taste of aristocrats of the period. Mukasa, "Heian kōki kyūtei kiken no biishiki to butsuzōkan," p. 184.

³¹ Mukasa Akira has argued that the idea of splendid *birei* based on the concept of *kazari* together with the characteristics of the Jōchō style were the aesthetic principles uppermost in the mind of Fujiwara period sculptors in creating a sculptural style of the most sumptuous ornamentation that would appeal to the court aristocrats, who commissioned these images. Mukasa, "Heian kōki kyūtei kiken no biishiki to butsuzōkan," p. 187.

throne and mandorla assembled from various parts shows the same construction and technique as seen in the Shōji-ji Yakushi (pl. 26) and the Kita-in Yakushi at Ninna-ji (pl. 27) and can be presumed to have been the standard construction for *danzō* of the Heian period.³²

The Yakushi is seated in *padmāsana* (J: *kekka fuza*) with his right hand raised in *abhaya mudrā* (J: *semui-in*) and his left hand holding the medicine jar. The upper torso is large and wide in proportion to the narrow base provided by the short folded legs expressing a sense of weight. The chest and three folds around the neck (J: *sandō*) show a tight fleshiness, which is distinctly different from the soft fleshiness of the Kita-in Yakushi. The sense of weight of the upper body is further enhanced by the rather large head with a high, well-rounded *usnīṣa*. The large head is the dominating part of the sculpture and provides a visual focal point. The raised right hand is more expressively carved with sharp incisions than the left hand holding the medicine jar. The robe of Yakushi covers both shoulders with few shallowly carved drapery folds that lack the sharpness and expressiveness of those of the Kita-in Yakushi. The broad face shows the same modelling of tight fleshiness as the chest and neck. The face is finely carved with full lips, a prominent nose, short slanted eyes and shallowly raised eyebrows. The resulting facial expression shows a kind of brooding spirituality, which is more commonly seen in Yakushi sculptures of the late 8th and 9th centuries.³³ This kind of brooding expression connected to the style of earlier Yakushi sculptures may well have been intended due to this Yakushi's function as a *honji-butsu*.

However, the finest display of carving skill can be seen in the mandorla and throne,

³² For a discussion of this method of construction in *danzō* of the Fujiwara period, see Itō, "Ninna-ji Kyū Kita-in honzon," pp. 20-21.

³³ Inoue, *Danzō*, p. 38, pl. 33.

which show the greatest attention to decorative detail and allowed the sculptor to express *shōgon* as a vital characteristic of *danzō*. The mandorla consists of two intersecting discs, a larger one behind the body and a smaller one behind the head, surrounded by a sumptuous pattern of *hōsōge karakusa* elegantly carved in intricate detail conveying a subtle sense of movement. The throne of Yakushi is assembled from different parts of *kaya* and the main decoration consists of the boldly carved downward-pointing lotus petals around the base (J: *kaeribana*) and the drapery cascading down from the upper platform concealing the structure underneath. The drapery is elegantly arranged with deeply carved folds falling in a natural rhythm conveying a sense of the fabric of the material. The drapery is attached to the throne in seven small panels and shows the same *kiyose* (木寄せ) technique as the drapery of the Kita-in Yakushi (pl. 27).

The robe and drapery of Yakushi are decorated with intricate *kirikane* patterns showing an even greater variety than the ones on the Kita-in Yakushi. Despite the variety of different patterns, there is great sense of order and unity in their application, which shows the perfection of *kirikane* as a means for the expression of *shōgon* on *danzō* of the Fujiwara period.

Stylistically, in terms of proportion, body volume and the double-disc shaped mandorla, this Yakushi can be dated to the first half of the 12th century. However, due to the more varied use of *kirikane* patterns, it is likely to be a slightly later work than the Kita-in Yakushi. It is a fine example, which demonstrates the expression of *shōgon* through the intricate carving technique, particularly on the mandorla, and the sumptuous use of different *kirikane* patterns on *danzō* of the Fujiwara period.

2. Miroku Nyorai

Miroku Nyorai (弥勒如来; Sk: Maitreya) is the Future Buddha, who after having preached as a Bodhisattva in Tuṣita Heaven, will descend to this world as a Buddha 5,670 million years after Śākyamuni's death in order to give three sermons under the dragon-flower tree and thus save all sentient beings, who could not reach salvation through Śākyamuni. Miroku Nyorai was widely worshipped and depicted in Japan during the Hakuho and Nara periods, but compared to Yakushi and Amida Nyorai was much less popular during the Heian period.³⁴

Iconographically, he is shown with his right hand in the fear-not gesture (Sk: *abhaya mudrā*; J: *semui-in*) and his left hand in the wish-granting gesture (Sk: *varada mudrā*; J: *segan-in*). However, other variations to this iconography, such as the left hand in the gesture of calling the earth as a witness (Sk: *bhūmisparśa mudrā*; J: *sokuji-in*) also exist (pl. 29).³⁵

The only surviving *danzō* of Miroku Nyorai (pl. 29) is identified as such by temple legend and the *mudrā*. However, a number of scholars have questioned this attribution, particularly since this combination of *mudrā* for sculptures of Miroku Nyorai is not very common and representations of Miroku Nyorai during the early Heian period are extremely rare.³⁶ Furthermore, whilst there are a number of documents mentioning *danzō* Miroku Bosatsu, there does not seem to be any document recording *danzō* Miroku Nyorai. Therefore, it is possible that this image is, in fact, a representation of

³⁴ For a detailed account of the worship and representation of Miroku Nyorai until the end of the Nara period, see Itō Shiro, *Mirokuzō*, Nihon no bijutsu, no. 316 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1992), pp. 37-41.

³⁵ For a detailed exposition of the iconography of Miroku Nyorai, see Itō Shiro, *Mirokuzō*, pp. 61-69.

³⁶ Both Uehara Shōichi and Samuel Morse argue that this combination of *mudrās* for Miroku Nyorai sculptures is unusual. Ota Hakutarō, et al., eds., *Nara rokudaiji taikan*, vol. 10, Tōdai-ji 2 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shōten, 1968), pp. 64-65; Morse, "The Formation of the Plain-Wood Style," p. 333, footnote 49.

Yakushi Nyorai, who enjoyed great popularity during the early Heian period.³⁷

The Miroku Nyorai at Tōdai-ji, Nara

The seated Miroku Nyorai at Tōdai-ji (東大寺) is the earliest surviving *danzō* of a Nyorai (pl. 29) and measures 39 cm in height. The sculpture is carved from one single block of *kaya* in *ichiboku zukuri* apart from both hands and the snail-curly (J: *rahotsu*; 螺髪), which were separately made and attached.

The base is slightly scooped out, but does not show a proper hollowing (J: *uchiguri*). The large protruding head and the massive hunched upper torso together with the disproportionately large hands show an anti-idealising, idiosyncratic style, which is typical of early Heian period sculpture. The upper torso emphasizes volume and broadness, which lend the sculpture an imposing presence in spite of its diminutive size and may have resulted in it being called the “Trial Daibutsu” (J: *kokoromi no daibutsu*; 試みの大仏). The broadness of the upper torso is ideally suited for the vigorous carving of deep and shallow drapery folds in *honpa shiki*, which enhance the sense of volume of the upper torso and create a vigorous rhythm that stands in beautiful contrast to the quiet, meditative expression of Miroku’s face. The shallow U-shaped drapery folds between the right arm and the body and the drapery folds along the left arm represented as high ridges in relief eloquently show the fluency and perfection of the sculptor’s carving skill. The exposed part of the chest, neck and hands show a fleshy swelling of forms that imbue the sculpture with life. In contrast to the vigorous elaboration of the upper torso, little

³⁷ Samuel Morse argues that if the broken left hand were to face palm upward—the fact that it faces downward might be due to a later restoration of wrongly attaching the hand (my comment)—it could be a statue of Yakushi Nyorai: Morse, “The Formation of the Plain-Wood Style,” p. 295.

attention has been paid by the sculptor to the folded legs, which do not show any attempt towards naturalistic modelling and are not clearly articulated to form part of the upper torso.

The large head with a broad, low *usnīsa* is hunched forward and enhances the sense of weight and volume of the upper torso. The face is broad with large, sharply carved facial features—the bulbous nose, the broad mouth with full fleshy lips, long slanted eyes, high arching eyebrows, the large fleshy ears, and the prominently protruding chin—all add to the sense of broadness, weight and volume. The eyes fix the viewer with a calm, but brooding expression, that can be seen in many early Heian period sculptures such as the Jingō-ji Yakushi. The rendering of the face in an Indian mode is another characteristic of early Heian period sculpture. Apart from green colour applied to the eyes, red to the lips, black ink to the eyebrows and the moustache, the sculpture is entirely unpainted relying on the superb carving and natural beauty of the grain for its visual impact. The similarity of body volume and treatment of *honpa shiki* to the Gangō-ji Yakushi and the slightly earlier Shin Yakushi-ji Yakushi suggest a date in the first quarter of the 9th century.³⁸

The sculpture was originally kept in a small shrine at the Hōkke-do behind the main image of Fukūkensaku Kannon. According to temple legend, this Miroku was the personal devotional image of Rōben (良弁; 689-773), the first abbot of Tōdai-ji.³⁹ On stylistic and technical grounds this association is quite impossible, but the attempt to link this unique image to an important personality like Rōben proves that it must have been

³⁸ For an illustration of the Gangō-ji Yakushi, see Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, *Danzō*, p. 110, pl. 48. For an illustration and discussion of the Shin Yakushi-ji Yakushi, see Mizuno, et al., eds., *Mikkyō jīn to butsuzō*, p. 199, pls. 1-3.

³⁹ The *Tōdai-ji yōroku* (東大寺要録) of the year 1106 and the *Kenkyū gojunreiki* (建久御巡礼記; 1190-99) both associate Rōben with Miroku by stating that Rōben was seen as a manifestation of Miroku, see Ota, Hakutarō, et al., eds., *Nara rokudaiji taikan*, vol. 10, Tōdai-ji 2, p. 65.

held in very high esteem and regarded as a particularly sacred image and further serves to corroborate the function of *danzō* as personal devotional icons. The image itself is a testimony to the extremely skilled craftsmanship and beautiful carving of *danzō* of the early 9th century, although it would have certainly been the intricately carved and sumptuously decorated mandorla and dais, unfortunately now lost, which would have given full expression to the concept of *shōgon*—a vital characteristic of *danzō*.

3. Shaka Nyorai

According to the *Nihon shoki* (日本書記), a gilt copper image of the historical Buddha, Shaka Nyorai (釈迦如来; Sk: Śākyamuni), was the very first Buddhist image to enter Japan and was presented by an envoy of King Sōng Myōng of the Korean kingdom of Paekche to Emperor Kinmei (欽明天皇; r. 539-571) of Japan in the 10th month of 552.⁴⁰ Furthermore, an early gilt bronze image of Shaka Nyorai dated to 628 A.D. attests to the early popularity of Shaka worship in Japan.⁴¹

Iconographically, the seated Shaka is often depicted with his hands in the gesture of meditation (Sk: *dhyāna mudrā*; J: *jō-in*). Another common combination is the right hand in the fear-not gesture (Sk: *abhaya mudrā*; J: *semui-in*) and the left hand in the wish-granting gesture (Sk: *varada mudrā*; J: *yogan-in*) (pl. 30).⁴²

⁴⁰ W.G. Aston, *Nihongi* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Company, 1896; reprint London: George Allen & Unwin, 1956), part 2, p. 65.

⁴¹ Tokyo kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Kondōbutsu* (Tokyo: Tokyo kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 1988), pl. 25.

⁴² For a detailed discussion of the iconography of Shaka Nyorai, see Tanabe Saburōsuke, *Shaka Nyoraizō*, *Nihon no bijutsu*, no. 243 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1986), pp. 28-47.

There is only one extant Shaka *danzō* (pl. 30), since many Shaka Nyorai sculptures made during the late Heian and Kamakura periods are copies of the Seiryō-ji Shaka brought by the monk Chōnen (938-1016) from China in 986 A.D., which are of the Udayana Shaka type—another lineage of *danzō*, that is not being considered here.⁴³ However, there are certain elements of this lineage that influenced small Shaka *danzō* such as the application of red dyestuff (J: *danjiki*) in imitation of the red colour of *gozu sendan* (pl. 30), which was the material said to have been used for the Udayana Shaka and shows the awareness of this lineage on part of the sculptor. Furthermore, many Shaka *danzō* recorded in documents, particularly of the second half of the Heian and Kamakura periods, were of the Udayana Shaka type.

Nevertheless, a number of documents record the making of *byakudan* Shaka triads such as an article in the *Gyokuyō* (玉葉) dated to Angen 3 (1177) stating, that “Inkei (院慶) made a *byakudan* Shaka triad.”⁴⁴ The fact that the iconography of the Udayana Shaka requires it to be strictly depicted on its own, suggests that Shaka triads mentioned in these documents were of the same small size as the surviving Shaka *danzō* at Tōdai-ji (pl. 30).

The Shaka Nyorai at Tōdai-ji, Nara

The seated Shaka Nyorai kept in the Sashizu-dō (指図堂) at Tōdai-ji (pl. 30) is the most beautiful surviving example of a Nyorai *danzō* of the Kamakura period (1185-1333) and eloquently expresses the refined expression of *shōgon* in *danzō* of the Kamakura

⁴³ For a discussion of the Seiryō-ji Shaka lineage of sculptures, see McCallum, “The Saidai-ji Lineage of the Seiryōji Shaka Tradition,” pp. 51-67, and Kyoto kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Shaka shinkō to Seiryō-ji* (Kyoto: Kyoto kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 1982).

⁴⁴ Kuno, “Danzō chōkoku,” p. 49.

period. The head and upper body of Shaka are carved from one piece of *kaya* with the right arm down from the elbow, left hand and legs separately carved out of *kaya* and added to the main body. The sculpture is hollowed out from inside (J: *uchiguri*) and the base is closed with a wooden board. The figure itself measures 29.2 cm and the overall height including the elaborately carved lotus throne is 57.2 cm.

The ink inscription on the base of the sculpture and the dedicatory documents deposited inside, reveal that this Shaka was made by the sculptor Zen'en (善円; 1197-1258) between the sixteenth day of the tenth month and the second day of the eleventh month of the year 1225.⁴⁵ According to the inscription on the base of the sculpture, it was commissioned by the monk Kakuchō (覚澄) of Jūrin-in (十輪院)—a sub-temple of Kaijūsen-ji in Kyoto—in commemoration of his deceased mother. The eye opening ceremony (J: *kaigen kūyo*; 開眼供養) was performed by the eminent monk Myōe (明恵; 1173-1232) of Kōzan-ji (高山寺) in Kyoto in 1226.⁴⁶ The monk Kakuchō was in close contact with Myōe and the fact that these two important personalities amongst the Buddhist clergy are connected to the commissioning and consecration of this sculpture underlines its importance.

Shaka holds his right hand in the fear-not *mudrā* (Sk: *abhaya mudrā*; J: *semui-in*) and his left hand in the wish-granting *mudrā* (Sk: *varada mudrā*; J: *yogan-in*). The folded legs with well-rounded knees provide a broad, solid base for the perfectly shaped upper body, which shows great restraint in the modelling of body volume and is perfectly balanced resulting in a sense of perfection. Shaka's robe covers both shoulders and falls

⁴⁵ Mizuno Keizaburō, et al., eds., *Unkei to Kaikei: Kamakura no kenchiku, chōkoku*, vol. 10, Nihon bijutsu zenshū (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1991), pp. 212-13, pl. 90.

⁴⁶ Mizuno, et al., eds., *Unkei to Kaikei*, pp. 212-13, pl. 90; Ota Hakutarō, et al., eds., *Nara rokudaiji taikan*, vol. 11, Tōdai-ji 3, p. 33.

in sharply carved, finely articulated drapery folds across the upper body. The drapery folds on both legs fall in a dense, circular pattern mirroring the shape of the knees, which creates an even rhythm reflecting the sublime carving skill of the sculptor. The smooth, flat surface of Shaka's chest provides a beautiful contrast to the sumptuous volume of his robe. The size of the head is in perfect proportion to the body and has a gently curved *usnīsa* with finely carved snail-curls (J: *rahotsu*; 螺髪). The face shows the same restrained modelling of volume and smooth surface as the body. The facial features—the pursed lips, sharply carved nose with the nose bridge connected to the high arching eyebrows and the thin long eyes with half-closed lids—are perfectly balanced and typical of Zen'en's style resulting in an expression of meditative introspection and tranquility.⁴⁷

In addition to the delicately carved facial features, the *byakugō* (白毫) on the forehead and the *nikkeishu* (肉髻珠) are inserted with precious stones, which reflect Zen'en's special attention and care given to this exceptional sculpture. The entire sculpture has reddish dyestuff applied to it, which is still particularly evident on the face and can be seen as an example of the application of *danjiki* in order to simulate the red colour of *gozu sendan*, which was used for the Udayana Shaka image and can be regarded as an expression of the wish to connect this sculpture spiritually to the particularly sacred image of Udayana Shaka. In addition to the dyestuff, black ink is applied to the hair, eyes, eyebrows and moustache and red is applied to the lips in order to highlight these features.

The excellent craftsmanship of Zen'en is even more evident in the sumptuously constructed and decorated nine-layered lotus throne. The lower part up to the *shikinasu*

⁴⁷ For a small sculpture of Jūichimen Kannon with similar facial features made by Zen'en in 1221 and now in the collection of the Nara National Museum, see Michael R. Cunningham, et al., *Buddhist Treasures from Nara* (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1998), pp. 102-103, pl. 31.

shows a complex construction of several layers of hexagonal discs, delicately carved downward pointing lotus petals and perforations displaying the full range from bold to subtle carving. The actual lotus pedestal of Shaka is decorated with six layers of upward pointing lotus petals, each thinly carved with a beautifully curved tip and delicately depicted veins, which are attached to the pedestal. The sumptuousness and refinement of the decoration in the sense of *shōgon* is further enhanced by the small pendants with beads suspended from the tip of each lotus petal and *keban* (華盤). In this sense, the exceptionally fine carving of this Shaka and the splendid ornamentation of the lotus throne eloquently illustrate the expression of *shōgon* in *danzō* of the Kamakura period and show that it was an eminent master sculptor like Zen'en, who was entrusted with the task of creating this exceptional *danzō*, which was certainly intended as an icon for personal worship.

4. Dainichi Nyorai

Dainichi Nyorai (大日如来; Sk: Mahāvairocana), the Buddha “whose light shines everywhere”, is the essential Buddha and the supreme deity of Esoteric Buddhism. He is defined in two major esoteric sūtras, the *Dainichi Sūtra* (J: *Dainichi-kyō*; 大日經) and the *Diamond Peak Sūtra* (J: *Kongōchō-kyō*; 金剛頂經). The worship of Dainichi Nyorai was introduced through the importation of esoteric doctrines to Japan by Kūkai in the early 9th century and the earliest representations of this deity also date from the 9th

century.⁴⁸

Iconographically, although being a Nyorai, Dainichi is represented as a royal Bodhisattva—wearing a crown and elaborate jewelry—symbolising that he is the King of all Buddhas. Dainichi of the Womb World (Sk: *Garbhadhātu*; J: *Taizōkai*; 胎藏界), embodying reason according to the *Dainichi-kyō*, holds both hands in the *mudrā* of meditation (Sk: *dhyāna mudrā*; J: *jō-in*) (pl. 32). Dainichi of the Diamond World (Sk: *Vajradhātu*; J: *Kongōkai*; 金剛界), embodying wisdom according to the *Kongōchō-kyō*, holds both hands in the *mudrā* of the Wisdom Fist (J: *chiken-in*; 智拳印) (pl. 31).⁴⁹

Only two surviving examples of *danzō* Dainichi Nyorai (pls. 31, 32), both dating from the Kamakura period exist and documents recording *danzō* of Dainichi Nyorai are even scarcer. The only document appears to be the *Daigozōjiki* (醍醐雜事記), which in an entry of the eleventh month of Eikyū 3 (1115) states that “a ceremony for a *byakudan* Dainichi Nyorai, Shaka Nyorai and Yakushi Nyorai of three *shaku* in height was performed.”⁵⁰ The scarcity of documents and surviving examples suggests that Dainichi Nyorai compared to Yakushi Nyorai, Amida Nyorai and Shaka Nyorai was not as frequently made as *danzō*.

The Dainichi Nyorai at Hannya-ji, Nara

The seated Dainichi Nyorai (Sk: *Mahāvairocana*) at Hannya-ji (般若寺) in Nara (pl. 31) is a miniscule sculpture of only 5.2 cm in height and was carved from one piece of

⁴⁸ For a detailed account of the transmission of the worship of Dainichi Nyorai together with esoteric doctrines, see Yamamoto Tsutomu, *Dainichi Nyoraizō*, Nihon no bijutsu, no. 374 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1997), pp. 17-19.

⁴⁹ For a detailed discussion of the iconography of Dainichi Nyorai, see Yamamoto, *Dainichi Nyoraizō*, pp. 19-23.

⁵⁰ Kuno, “Danzō chōkoku,” p. 48.

hinoki. Dainichi is seated in padmāsana (J: *kekka fuza*) with his right hand grasping the extended index finger of his left hand in front of his chest (J: *chiken-in*; 智拳印) symbolizing his universal knowledge. This mudrā is characteristic of Dainichi of the Diamond World (Sk: *Vajradhātu*; J: *Kongōkai*) that signifies the wisdom of the spiritual world and is also known as the Wisdom World.

The upper body is of well-balanced proportions typical of Kamakura period sculpture and is adorned with a necklace, scarf (J: *jōhaku*; 条帛), and arm-and brace-lets, which are the usual ornaments of Dainichi. The *mo* is well carved with a few deeply cut drapery folds. In spite of its miniscule size, Dainichi's face is delicately carved with well-proportioned facial features and shows a facial expression of meditative introspection. He is adorned with a crown (J: *hōkan*; 宝冠) on which the Five Esoteric Buddhas are painted. Apart from the blue colour on the hair, crown, eyes and eyebrows and the red colour on the mouth, the sculpture is left unpainted showing the beautiful natural yellowish colour of the wood.

Dainichi Nyorai is seated on a five-layered throne, which is beautifully carved with an extremely smooth, polished surface and the pedestal is decorated with intricately carved upward pointing lotus petals. The halo behind Dainichi is skilfully made up of metal wire. The overall impression of the sculpture, in spite of its miniscule size, is one of delicate, refined carving, which clearly expresses *shōgon*. Stylistically, in terms of body proportions and facial features, it can be dated to the first half of the 13th century.

This Dainichi was deposited together with another small *danzō* of Jizō Bosatsu (pl. 52) inside a Nyorai sculpture, which in turn was deposited with other votive objects

inside the thirteen-storey stone pagoda at Hannyaji.⁵¹ It serves as an interesting example for the function of *danzō* as votive offerings (J: *tainai butsu*, 胎内仏) inside larger images.

The Dainichi Nyorai at Chōreki-ji, Aichi Prefecture

The seated Dainichi Nyorai at Chōreki-ji (長曆寺) in Aichi prefecture (pl. 32) is carved from one piece of *kaya* in *ichiboku zukuri* and measures 11.5 cm in height. Dainichi is seated in *padmāsana* (J: *kekka fusa*) and holds his hands in the gesture of meditation (Sk: *dhyāna mudrā*; J: *jō-in*). This *mudrā* is characteristic of Dainichi Nyorai of the Womb World Mandala (Sk: *Garbhadhātu mandala*; J: *Taizōkai mandara*).

The folded legs provide a broad and stable base for the perfectly proportioned upper body, which displays a subtle fleshiness in the modelling of the arms and chest. The *mo* shows few crisply carved drapery folds in the form of high ridges, which are arranged in perfect symmetry on the right and left leg. The *jōhaku* falling from the left shoulder across the upper body with only two sharply incised drapery folds shows the same clarity and simplicity of modelling as the *mo*. The upper body is adorned with an intricately carved necklace with flower-shaped diadems to which chains of jewelry are attached, falling elegantly across the upper body onto both legs. The crispness and intricacy of the carving of the jewelry is truly astonishing and expresses the sumptuousness of *shōgon*.

Dainichi is further adorned with arm- (J: *hisen*, 臂釧) and brace-lets (J: *wansen*, 腕釧). He wears a crown (J: *hōkan*), which in contrast to the intricate execution of the jewelry is incised in a rather cursory way lacking the fine attention to detail. However,

⁵¹ Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Danzō*, p. 198, pl. 91.

Dainichi's face is delicately carved with well-proportioned features—the small mouth with pursed lips, the sharply carved nose, the thin, slanted eyes, the high-arching eyebrows, and *byakugō*—show an expression of meditative introspection and tranquillity. The intricate carving of this sculpture can also be seen in the detailed attention to the finely incised hair some of it falling in strains onto both shoulders.

Stylistically, in terms of similarities in the treatment of the drapery of the *mo* and jewelry chains, this sculpture can be placed between the Aizen Myōō on the *kōgōbutsu* in the Tō-ji (pl. 24), which dates from the second half of the 13th century and the Aizen Myōō of Kanshin-ji in Osaka (pl. 53), which dates from the early 14th century and therefore, can be dated to the last quarter of the 13th century. It represents a fine example of the delicate expression of *shōgon* in Nyorai *danzō* of the late Kamakura period.

CHAPTER 5

REPRESENTATIONS OF KANNON

Danzō representing Kannon (Sk: Avalokiteśvara) constitute the largest group of extant *danzō* of any iconographic type with sixteen examples in total ranging from Chinese examples of the late 6th to the second half of the 8th century to Japanese examples of the second half of the 8th to the first half of the 13th century. The group consists of ten Jūichimen Kannon, three Shō Kannon, two Senju Kannon, and one Nyoirin Kannon.

The particular preference for the representation of manifestations (J: *henge*; 変化) of Kannon—Jūichimen Kannon in particular—as *danzō* has its doctrinal and textual foundation in the *Eleven-headed Kannon Sūtra* (Sk: *Ekādasamuka Dhārāṇi Sūtra*), which states, that “good men and women should make an image of Avalokiteśvara from sandalwood (*byakudan*) of the highest quality with no imperfections and the image should be one *shaku* and three *sun* in height.”¹ Four different translations of this sūtra exist of which the earliest one was done by Yasogupta in China in 570.² The earliest record of this sūtra in Japan is the translation by Xuanzang recorded in the Nara capital in 733.³ These translations of the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra* provided the textual foundation for the frequent making of *danzō* of Jūichimen Kannon and one can surmise of other forms of Kannon as well.

¹ Mochizuki, ed., *Bukkyō Daijiten*, vol. 3, pp. 2206-2207a; for an English translation of the sūtra translation by Yasogupta, see Wood, “Eleven Faces of the Bodhisattva,” pp. 360-373.

² The other three translations of the sūtra into Chinese were done by Atigupta in 654, Xuanzang in 656, and an anonymous one, possibly done by Amoghavajra in the 750s.

³ Ishida Mosaku, *Shakyō yori mitaru Nara-chō bukkyō no kenkyū*, p. 84.

The earliest record of the making of *danzō* of the Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara is in the *Ji Gujin Fodao Lunheng* (集古今佛道論衡), edited by Daoxuan (道宣; 702-760) in 664, which states that, “the Daoist, Guo Xingzhen (郭行眞), of Chang’an had two *danzō* of the Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara made in the first year of Longsuo (661).”⁴ Actual examples of Chinese *danzō* of the Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara dating from the third quarter of the 7th to the first quarter of the 8th century (pls. 33-35) illustrate the popularity of the making of *danzō* of Jūichimen Kannon in Tang China closely adhering to the stipulations set out in the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra*.

Two translations of the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra* by Xuanzang and Yasogupta, which were known in Japan by the 730s and actual Chinese *danzō* of Jūichimen Kannon such as the Kumen Kannon (pl. 34), which was brought to Japan in 719, transmitted the tradition of the making of *danzō* of Jūichimen Kannon based on the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra* to Japan. The earliest extant Japanese *danzō* of Jūichimen Kannon date from the second half of the 8th century (pls. 36, 37). Extant examples of the early Heian (pls. 38, 39, 40), Fujiwara (pl. 41) and Kamakura (pls. 42) periods illustrate the continuing popularity of the depiction of Jūichimen Kannon as *danzō* in accordance with the stipulations of the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra*.

Although the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra* formed the textual and doctrinal foundation, which accounts for Jūichimen Kannon being the most frequently depicted manifestation of Kannon as *danzō*, other manifestations of Kannon such as Senju Kannon (pls. 43, 44), Nyoirin Kannon (pl. 45), Shō Kannon (pls. 46, 47, 48) and, according to textual sources, Fukūkensaku Kannon, were also made as *danzō*.

⁴ Matsuda Seiichirō, “Tokyo kokuritsu hakubutsukan hokan Jūichimen Kannon zō (Tōnomine denrai) ni suite, 2,” *Kokka*, no. 1119 (1988), p. 37; *Daizōkyō*, vol. 52, p. 396a.

Danzō of Senju Kannon appear to have been made in China from as early as the 8th century since the *Tōdaiwajō tōseiden* records a sandalwood (*byakusendan*) sculpture of Senju Kannon, which was brought by Ganjin from Tang China to Japan in 754.⁵ The earliest extant *danzō* of Senju Kannon in Japan dates from the third quarter of the 9th century (pl. 43). An entry in the *Settsumeishozue* (摂津名所図絵), on the fourth day of the second month of Ninna 4 (888), records an Eleven-headed Senju Kannon made out of fragrant *sendan* of three *shaku* in height as the *honzon* of the Hodarakusan Sōji-ji.⁶ The only other extant *danzō* of Senju Kannon is the Bujō-ji sculpture dated to 1154 (pl. 44). The two remaining examples and textual evidence suggest that *danzō* of Senju Kannon were made in China during the Tang dynasty and in Japan during the Heian period, although much less frequently than *danzō* of Jūichimen Kannon.

The Chinese *danzō* of Nyoirin Kannon at Hōryū-ji in Nara (pl. 45), datable to the second half of the 8th century, is the only surviving *danzō* of Nyoirin Kannon. No actual Japanese *danzō* of Nyoirin Kannon have survived, although an entry in the *Anjō-ji garan engi shizaichō* (安祥寺伽藍縁起資財帳) in Jōgan 13 (871) recording “one *byakudan* Nyoirin Kanzeon Bosatsu,”⁷ illustrates that *danzō* of Nyoirin Kannon were made in Japan, albeit not very frequently.

Danzō of Shō Kannon appear to have been made in China from as early as the Sui dynasty (581-618) as illustrated by the earliest extant *danzō* of Shō Kannon dating from the Sui dynasty (pl. 46) in the Sakai City Museum. The earliest Japanese *danzō* of Shō Kannon dates from the second quarter of the 9th century (pl. 47) and an entry in the *Engi tenryaku gokishō* (延喜天曆御記抄), on the eighteenth day of the sixth month of Ōwa 2

⁵ *Tō Daiwajō tōseiden*, in *Zoku gunsho ruiju*, vol. 69, pp. 510-27; Kuno, “*Danzō chōkoku*,” p. 32.

⁶ *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 1/1, p. 81

⁷ Kuno, “*Danzō chōkoku*,” p. 33.

(962), states that the eye opening ceremony of a *byakudan* Shō Kannon was conducted by Gonsōjō Kankū (権僧正寛空).⁸

Both textual sources and the only other extant Japanese *danzō* of Shō Kannon datable to the first half of the 13th century (pl. 48) suggest that *danzō* of Shō Kannon were especially made in Japan from the early 11th to the 13th century as part of the so-called Futama Kannon. Such a triad of Futama Kannon is recorded in the *Kakuzenshō* in a request regarding the Buddhist sculptures of the Jijūden on the nineteenth day of the tenth month of Chōreki 4 (1041) as “one *byakudan* Shō Kannon of seven sun and Bonten and Taishakuten of 6 sun each.”⁹ Thus actual extant examples and textual sources illustrate that *danzō* of Shō Kannon were made in Japan from the 9th to the 13th century.

Although no actual examples have survived, textual sources indicate that *danzō* representing Fukūkensaku Kannon were also made in Japan during the Heian period. An entry in the *Gonijōmoromichiki* (後二條師通記), on the fourteenth day of the third month of Kanji 6 (1092), states that “*ajari* performed a ceremony for a *byakudan* Fukūkensaku Kannon.”¹⁰

The iconography of these various manifestations of Kannon, which stipulates the adornment with jewelry chains, arm- and brace-lets, crowns, earrings, scarves, and ribbons—signifying Kannon’s attachment to the earthly realm in which he tirelessly helps to save sentient beings—was eminently suited for the expression of *shōgon* on *danzō*. The type-style of *danzō*, as already defined, consists of small size, plain wood finishing or *danjiki*, and intricate carving as an expression of *shōgon*, whilst the way in

⁸ Kuno, “Danzō chōkoku,” p. 40; *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 1/4.

⁹ Sekine, *Bonten, Taishakuten zō*, p. 71; *Kakuzenshō*, 3, in *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho*, ed. Bussho kankōkai (Tokyo: Bussho kankōkai, 1916), pp. 928-929.

¹⁰ *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 3/2, p. 527; Kuno, “Danzō chōkoku,” p. 48.

which it is expressed varies according to the period-style and iconographic type.¹¹ Since *danzō* representing Kannon form the largest group of *danzō* of any iconographic type with examples ranging in date from the late 6th to the 13th century, the group is eminently suited to illustrate the development of *shōgon* in *danzō* according to the period-style.

Early Chinese *danzō* of Kannon of the Sui and Tang dynasties (pls. 33-35, 45, 46) express *shōgon* in their elaborate jewelry chains, arm- and brace-lets, crowns, earrings, and scarves, which are exquisitely carved from the same block of material as the sculptures. The jewelry on the Tang dynasty examples is particularly lavish and elaborate in both concept and design expressing *shōgon* in the exuberant and ornate style of the Tang dynasty.

The earliest Japanese *danzō* of Kannon, datable to the third quarter of the 8th century (pl. 36), follows the Chinese prototypes in the expression of *shōgon* in the way the jewelry, arm-and brace-lets, crown, and scarves are carved directly from the same block of material as the sculpture, although the style of carving is softer and more sensuous than that of the Chinese prototypes, reflecting the influence of dry lacquer sculpture of the Nara period. The Dōmyō-ji Jūichimen Kannon (pl. 37), datable to the last quarter of the 8th century, closely follows Chinese prototypes of the Tang dynasty (pl. 35) both in terms of the style of the necklace and the fact that the necklace, arm- and brace-lets were directly carved on the sculpture. However, nail holes on the body indicate, that the lost jewelry chains on the body would have been made out of a separate material and were attached to the body, which marks a departure from Chinese prototypes.

¹¹ Dietrich Seckel has pointed out the vital importance of the distinction between type-style and period-style in the research of East Asian Buddhist Art, see Seckel, *Buddhist Art of East Asia*, p. 217.

In the 9th century *shōgon* on Kannon is expressed through wood (pl. 39) or metal necklaces (pl. 43), which were separately made and attached, but unfortunately have been lost in a number of sculptures (pls. 38-40). Intricate arm- and brace-lets continued to be carved directly onto the body of the sculptures. However, there is a tendency towards less elaborate necklaces and the long jewelry chains were substituted with highly ornamental scarves with deeply carved, dense drapery folds in the period-style of the 9th century, which create a lavish expression of *shōgon*.

Shōgon on *danzō* of Kannon of the Fujiwara period is expressed in the intricate gilt bronze necklaces (pl. 44; pl. 41 now lost), crowns and *kōhai* (pl. 44) decorated with delicate openwork design of *karakusa monyō*.¹² It is further expressed in the richly adorned thrones and the delicate *kirikane* patterns that express *shōgon* in the refined and delicate style of the Fujiwara period, in which the religious-aesthetic concept of *shōgon* merged with the worldly aesthetic concept of *birei* creating a most delicate and sumptuous expression of *shōgon*.¹³

Some *danzō* of Kannon of the Kamakura period (pl. 48) follow the expression of *shōgon* of the Fujiwara period in the elaborate gilt-bronze openwork necklaces, crowns, and *kōhai* as well as the elaborate dais and *kirikane* patterns rendered in the period-style of the Kamakura period. However, other *danzō* of Kannon (pl. 42) follow a revival style of the Kamakura period based on Chinese Tang (pls. 33-35) and Nara period (pls. 37, 38) prototypes in expressing *shōgon* in the sumptuous necklaces, crown, arm- and brace-lets, and the lavishly decorated lotus petals of the dais, which are directly carved out of the same block of material as the sculptures.

¹² For a discussion of *kirikane* patterns on *danzō* of the Fujiwara period, see Ariga, *Taikin to saishiki*, pp. 39-40.

¹³ Mukasa, "Heian kōki kyūtei kiken no biishiki to butsuzōkan," p. 184.

1. Jūichimen Kannon

Jūichimen Kannon, the Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara (Sk: Ekādaśamukha Avalokiteśvara), is the most popularly depicted manifestation (J: *henge*) of Kannon in East Asia. According to one legend explaining the origin of this manifestation, Kannon, seeing the unlimited number of suffering sentient beings, was so overwhelmed with compassion that his head split into eleven parts which were formed into eleven heads by Amitābha Buddha and came to symbolize the many different ways in which the deity expresses compassion.¹⁴

All four versions of the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra* stipulate that the three faces in front should be Bodhisattva faces, the three faces on the left should be angry faces and the three faces on the right should resemble those of a Bodhisattva with canine tusks that project upwards. At the back should be a laughing face and on top a Buddha head.¹⁵ In Tang dynasty China (pl. 33) and in Japan until the late Nara period (pl. 36), ten diminutive heads—eight Bodhisattva heads, the laughing face at the back and the Buddha head—crowned the principal head of Kannon, whilst from the late Nara period onwards (pl. 37), eleven diminutive heads—nine Bodhisattva heads, the laughing face at the back and the Buddha head—were depicted on top of the principal head of Kannon.¹⁶ The translations of the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra* by Yasogupta in 570 and Atigupta in 654, stipulate that the Eleven-Headed Kannon should hold a vase with a lotus flower in

¹⁴ For a detailed discussion of this legend and various other theories on the origin of the Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara, see Tove Neville, *Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara, Chenresigs, Kuan-yin or Kannon Bodhisattva: Its Origin and Iconography* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Ltd., 1999), pp. 4-27.

¹⁵ Wood, "Eleven Faces of the Bodhisattva," p. 29.

¹⁶ For a detailed discussion of the iconography of the Eleven-Headed Kannon in China and Japan with particular reference to the number and arrangement of the diminutive heads, see Neville, *Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara*, pp. 65-81 and 83-99.

the left hand, whilst Xuanzang's translation of 656, stipulates more specifically, a vase in the shape of a *kundika*.¹⁷ According to Yasogupta's and Atigupta's version of the sūtra, the right hand should hold part of a chain of jewelry, whilst according to Xuanzang's translation, the right hand should hold a rosary.¹⁸ Apart from the Tokyo National Museum sculpture, datable to the third quarter of the 7th century (pl. 33), which represents a compromise between the stipulations of the earlier and later translations of the sūtra, all extant *danzō* of the Eleven-Headed Kannon follow Xuanzang's translation and hold a rosary in the right hand, which, however, in some cases has been lost.

The cult of the Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara originated in India as illustrated by the earliest extant copy of the principal sūtra relating to the deity, the *Ekādasamuka Dhārāṇi Sūtra*, which is dated to the 5th or 6th century and the late 6th century stone image in cave 41 at Kanheri in western India, which is the earliest extant representation of the deity.¹⁹ The earliest translation of the *Ekādasamuka Dhārāṇi Sūtra* into Chinese by the monk Yasogupta was done in China in 570 and was recorded in Japan in 738, whilst Xuanzang's translation had already been known in Japan in 733.²⁰

The *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra* stipulates that one should make an image of Avalokiteśvara out of sandalwood of the highest quality with no imperfections and that the image should be one *shaku* and three *sun* in height.²¹ This textual stipulation provided the doctrinal and iconographic foundation for the particularly frequent depiction of the Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara as *danzō*. The earliest textual record mentioning *danzō* of

¹⁷ Wood, "Eleven Faces of the Bodhisattva," pp. 32-33.

¹⁸ Wood, "Eleven Faces of the Bodhisattva," pp. 32-33.

¹⁹ Wood, "Eleven Faces of the Bodhisattva," pp. 3 and 10-12.

²⁰ Ishida, *Shakyō yori mitaru Nara-chō bukkyō no kenkyū*, pp. 84, 89.

²¹ Mochizuki, ed., *Bukkyō Daijiten*, vol. 3, pp. 2206-2207a; for an English translation of the sūtra translation by Yasogupta, see Wood, "Eleven Faces of the Bodhisattva," pp. 360-373.

the Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara is in the *Ji Gujin Fodao Lunheng* (集古今佛道論衡), edited by Daoxuan (道宣; 702-760) in 664, which states that “the Daoist, Guo Xingzhen (郭行眞), of Chang’an had two *danzō* of the Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara made in the first year of Longsuo (661).”²² Three extant Chinese *danzō* of the Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara, dating from the third quarter of the 7th to the first quarter of the 8th century (pls. 33, 34, 35), illustrate the popularity of the making of *danzō* of the Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara in Tang China.

The earliest textual record of a *danzō* of the Eleven-Headed Kannon in Japan refers to the Kumen Kannon, a special form of the Eleven-Headed Kannon, and is considered by most scholars to be a reference to the sculpture of Kumen Kannon still extant at Hōryū-ji (pl. 34). It is recorded in the *Hōryū-ji garan engi narabini ruki shizaichō*, compiled in 747, which states that, the sculpture was brought from Tang China in Yōrō 3 (719).²³ Actual surviving examples illustrate that Japanese *danzō* of Jūichimen Kannon were made from at least the third quarter of the 8th century (pl. 36) and throughout the Heian (pls. 38- 41) and Kamakura (pl. 42) periods. The ten surviving *danzō* of Jūichimen Kannon are the largest group of *danzō* of any iconographic type extending over the longest period from the 7th to the 13th century and thus illustrate the special significance of Jūichimen Kannon for the making of *danzō* based on the textual stipulations set out in the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra*, which also states the special efficacy of these images.

²² Matsuda Seichirō, “Tokyo kokuritsu hakubutsukan hokan Jūichimen Kannon zō (Tōnomine denrai) ni tsuite, 2,” *Kokka*, no. 1119 (1988), p. 37; *Daizōkyō*, vol. 52, p. 396a.

²³ Kuno, “*Danzō chōkoku*,” p. 32.

The Jūichimen Kannon in the Tokyo National Museum

The standing Jūichimen Kannon (pl. 33) in the collection of the Tokyo National Museum, originally preserved at Tōnomine (多武峯) in Nara, is the earliest extant example of a *danzō* representing Jūichimen Kannon. It was carved out of one piece of sandalwood in *ichiboku zukuri* and measures 42.1 cm in height. The entire sculpture is covered with a reddish-brown dyestuff (J: *danjiki*) with additional white and black colouring on the eyes, red on the lips and blue on the hair.

The deity stands upright in a slight *tribhanga* pose with the right knee flexed and the weight gently shifted to the left leg, which softens the strict frontal pose. The upper body is short in proportion to the lower body and the modelling of the body is rather abstract without much attempt to create volume. This together with the disproportionately large head, hands and feet and the elongated right arm give the deity a child-like appearance. Jūichimen Kannon wears a *dhoti*, which is turned over at the waist forming a beautiful pattern of pleats. The hemline stops high revealing the ankles and forming a fishtail pattern to the left and right (left and right pointed edges later replacements). The folds of the *dhoti* are depicted in a rather abstract manner with only a few vertical lines at the front and back. Both shoulders are covered with a stole (Sk: *samkaksikā*) with two scarves: one scarf is elegantly draped from the right shoulder across the upper body hanging over the left arm (free hanging part a later replacement) and the other scarf falls from the left shoulder to below the knees and loops in an elegant curve over the right arm (free hanging part a later replacement). This type of stole originated in Chinese Buddhist sculptures of the Northern Wei dynasty (386-534),²⁴ whilst the distinct division of the

²⁴ For a seated stone Bodhisattva in the Eisei Bunkō, Tokyo, see Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkyō*, vol. 1, pl. 214a.

scarves hanging across the upper and lower body can be seen in Chinese Buddhist sculptures of the Sui (581-618) and early Tang (618-906) dynasties.²⁵

The greatest attention to detail was paid by the sculptor to the exquisite rendering of the elaborate jewelry, which covers the entire body and together with the beautiful face, provides the visual focal point of the sculpture. The deity wears a pearl necklace and a breast-plate elaborately carved with a single row of lotus petals and a swirl pattern. A diadem with a palmette motif is attached to the breast-plate slightly below the centre. Vertically from this diadem hangs a double rope, skilfully pulled through a flower shaped ornament below the navel, tied to a knot (left and right ends later replacements) above the knees, and ending in elaborately carved tassels above the ankles. Two types of jewelry chains are fastened to the flower shaped diadems on both shoulders: one is a double beaded jewelry chain (free hanging part a later replacements), which elegantly falls across the body in a U-shape below the knees. It is interspersed at regular intervals with flower-shaped diadems in between two square-shaped ornaments and at the tip of the U-shape below the knees, slightly off centre, features an elaborately carved diadem consisting of a flower motif surrounded by cloud or swirl patterns. The other jewelry chain consists of four parts arranged in an X-shape across the upper and lower body held together at the centre by an intricately carved flower-shaped diadem below the navel.

This diadem is surrounded with four smaller ornaments of the same cloud or swirl pattern as on the ornament below the knees creating a sense of visual coherence, in spite of the many elaborate details depicted. The same tendency of creating a visual unity in variety can be seen in the X-shaped jewelry arrangement in which double beaded

²⁵ For a Sui dynasty bronze figure of a Bodhisattva in the Eisei Bunkō, Tokyo, see Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkyō*, vol. 2, pl. 592a, b. For two attendant figures of a stone stele dated to 666 A.D., see Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkyō*, vol. 3, pl. 617a.

chains and square shaped ornaments, which are the same as the ones on the U-shaped jewelry chain are interspersed with a different kind of chain with much smaller and finer beads. The combination of U-shaped and X-shaped jewelry chains, often combined with the knot above the knees, is a stylistic characteristic of the Northern Zhou (557-581) and Sui (581-618) dynasties.²⁶ The deity is further embellished with armlets and bracelets. The complexity of the jewelry arrangement provided the sculptor of this Jūichimen Kannon with ample opportunity to express the concept of *shōgon* with his masterful carving technique in the most splendid ornamentation resulting in crispness and clarity of expression despite the great variety of details depicted.

Jūichimen Kannon holds a water bottle (J: *suibyō*; 水瓶; Sk: *kundikā*) in his left hand (left arm from elbow down and water bottle later replacements) and a rosary (J: *nenju*; 念珠; Sk: *mālā*) in his right hand (thumb and free hanging part of rosary later replacement). Whilst the depiction of the rosary in the right hand follows the stipulations set out in Xuanzang's translation of the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra* of 656, the depiction of the jewelry chain wrapped around the right forearm, which in this case disappears underneath the scarf, follows the stipulations of the earlier translations of the sūtra by Yasogupta in 570 and Atigupta in 654. Therefore, Matsuda Seiichirō has argued convincingly that the iconography, which follows the later translation by Xuanzang whilst still respecting the older translations by Yasogupta and Atigupta, suggests that the sculpture was not made long after 656, when Xuanzang's translation appeared, but the respect for the older versions of the sūtra was still present.²⁷

²⁶ For two Northern Zhou dynasty Bodhisattvas, one in the Minneapolis Institute of Art and the other in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, see Sirén, *Chinese Sculpture*, vol. 1, pls. 273 and 274. For a Sui dynasty Bodhisattva in the Asian Art Museum, San Francisco, see d'Argencé, *Chinese, Korean and Japanese Sculpture*, p. 165, pl. 75.

The principal head of the sculpture wears a helmet-like headdress with a chignon at the centre, which is crowned by a large head of a Bodhisattva (later replacement) and would have originally been crowned by a Buddha head. The eight diminutive heads are arranged in a single row, four to the left (later replacements) and four to the right of a small icon of Amitābha (partially lost) seated on a lotus throne. The laughing head at the back is missing. The diminutive heads are crisply carved with well-defined features and wear tripartite crowns with an icon of a seated Amitābha at the centre. They are adorned with earrings and wide, pointed breast-plates. Three of the four original heads on the right are depicted with tusks and benign facial expressions.

The face of the principal head is finely carved with an extremely smooth surface. The elegantly curved, high arching eyebrows; thick, wavy eyelids; sharply carved, prominent nose; small pursed lips and soft modelling of cheeks and chin show a very strong influence of the Indian Gupta style.²⁸ The strong Indian Gupta style of the face, in contrast to the very Chinese style of the body and ornaments, suggests that this sculpture may have been modelled on an Indian prototype, such as the four sandalwood sculptures brought back from India by Xuanzang in 645 and points to a date around or just after the mid-7th century, when a strong Gupta influence entered Chinese Buddhist sculptures.²⁹

In conclusion one can say that the proportions and many stylistic elements of the Northern Zhou and Sui period, the iconography that represents a blend of the new version of the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra* by Xuanzang of 656 and the earlier versions by

²⁷ Matsuda Seiichirō, "Tokyo kokuritsu hakubutsukan hokan Jūichimen Kannon zō (Tōnomine denrai) ni tsuite, 1," *Kokka*, no. 1118 (1988), pp. 9-13.

²⁸ For a Gupta Buddha from Sāmāth, see Harle, *The Art and Architecture of the Indian Subcontinent*, p. 109, pl. 84.

²⁹ For a detailed discussion of the transmission of the Gupta style from India to China around the mid-7th century, see Matsuda Seiichirō, "Tokyo kokuritsu hakubutsukan hokan Jūichimen Kannon zō (Tōnomine denrai) ni tsuite, 2," *Kokka*, no. 1119 (1988), pp. 41-42.

Yasogupta of 570 and Atigupta of 654 together with the strong Gupta style in the facial features, which entered China around the mid-7th century, suggest a date in the third quarter of the 7th century prior to the formulation of the early Tang style seen in the Kumen Kannon (pl. 34). The high quality and excellent craftsmanship of this sculpture suggest that it was made in a metropolitan area, possibly Chang'an. Traditionally, the sculpture is said to have been brought back from Tang China by the monk Jōe (d. 711), the son of Fujiwara no Kamatari (藤原鎌足; 614-669), on his return to Japan in 665 and the dating of the sculpture makes this a historical possibility.³⁰

This Jūichimen Kannon represents an early masterpiece of a *danzō*, demonstrating the highest level of craftsmanship and illustrating the most sublime carving technique in the expression of the splendour of *shōgon* through both its intricate ornamentation and harmonious execution.

The Kumen Kannon at Hōryū-ji, Nara

Most scholars agree that the Kumen Kannon (pl. 34) kept at Hōryū-ji in Nara is the very sculpture mentioned in the *Hōryū-ji garan engi narabini ruki shizaichō*, compiled in 747, which states that the sculpture was brought back from Tang China in the third year of Yōrō, 719.³¹ This makes the Kumen Kannon the earliest surviving *danzō* recorded by a document, specifically calling it a *danzō*. The sculpture measures 37.6 cm in height and is carved from a single block of sandalwood including the base and diminutive heads.

³⁰ For a more detailed discussion of the life of the monk Jōe and his possible link to this Jūichimen Kannon, see Matsuda Seiichirō, "Tokyo kokuritsu hakubutsukan hokan Jūichimen Kannon zō, 2," pp. 37-41.

³¹ See Kuno, "Danzō chōkoku," p. 32; for a discussion of the different theories regarding the relationship between the Kumen Kannon sculpture and the entry in the document, see Uehara Shōichi, "Kannon bosatsu (Kumen Kannon)," in *Nara rokudaiji taikan*, vol. 4, Hōryū-ji 4, p. 60.

The entire sculpture is covered with a reddish-brown dyestuff (J: *danjiki*) with black ink applied to the pupils and eyebrows, blue to the hair and red to the lips.

The deity stands in *tribhanga* pose with the left hip gently shifted to the left side softening the otherwise strictly frontal posture. The upper and lower body are well-proportioned and show a tendency towards the creation of a soft, naturalistic volume. The feet, hands and head are well-proportioned in relation to the body and together create a well-balanced, harmonious whole, that lends the sculpture a great sense of dignity and nobility. The naturalistic proportions and modelling of the Kumen Kannon stand in marked contrast to the proportions and abstract treatment of the body of the Tokyo National Museum Jūichimen Kannon (pl. 33) and point towards a later date than the third quarter of the 7th century to a time when the great concern with naturalistic proportions and modelling—a vital characteristic of the Tang style—had already become part of the early Tang style.

Kumen Kannon wears a *dhoti*, which is fastened by a belt with finely incised cross-hatching with some material of the *dhoti* sticking out above the belt like a rim—a later stylistic characteristic than the pleats of the Tokyo National Museum Jūichimen Kannon (pl. 33). The drapery on the *dhoti* is naturalistically depicted cascading down both legs in an even rhythm of U-shaped folds by clinging tightly to both legs revealing their shape underneath. The back of the *dhoti* is carved with a larger version of U-shaped folds falling in a gentle rhythm conveying a sense of the fabric. The sculptor succeeded in expressing a sense of the weight and volume of the fabric of the *dhoti* through his sharp and precise carving technique reaching the highest level of naturalistic depiction where the sides of the *dhoti* are caught by the jewelry chains reflecting the unsurpassed

skill of the sculptor. This is further evident in the stole (Sk: *samkaksikā*) covering both shoulders with the same finely carved U-shaped folds at the back and the scarves falling from the shoulders in wavy lines across both arms onto the base creating an elegant sense of movement.

However, the greatest technical tour de force is the splendid jewelry ornaments covering the body of the sculpture. Kumen Kannon wears a pearl necklace and a breast-plate decorated with a decorative band of lotus petals and a pattern of triangles. A flower-shaped diadem is attached to the breast-plate slightly below the centre and two flower-shaped diadems are attached on the shoulders. The breast-plate is fastened at the back and is similar in style to the one worn by the Tokyo National Museum Jūichimen Kannon (pl. 33). However, the jewelry chains worn by the Kumen Kannon are even more complex in arrangement and more elaborate and sumptuous in execution than the ones worn by the Tokyo National Museum Jūichimen Kannon: the upper half of the X-shaped jewelry chain covering the upper body has been modified to an even more complex and ornate structure of chains and flower-shaped diadems, whilst the U-shaped jewelry chain has become shorter stopping at the knees. The double rope suspended vertically from the flower-shaped diadem on the chest is embellished with another flower-shaped diadem attached to it—a highly complex round knot, a diadem in the shape of a stylised wheel and a flower, bow and tassels—which fall onto the base between the feet of Kumen Kannon, creating a strong sense of three-dimensionality. Although some elements of the ornamentation of Kumen Kannon such as parts of the double-beaded chains, flower-shaped and square shaped-ornaments and tassels are stylistically related to the Tokyo National Museum sculpture, their execution shows an even greater mastery of technical

skill and intricacy that takes the splendour of *shōgon* to an entirely new level of perfection, which is unsurpassed. The closest comparable example in terms of style and arrangement of ornament to the Kumen Kannon is a bronze figure of a Bodhisattva in the National Museum of Korea, which can be dated to the second half of the 7th century.³² Kumen Kannon holds a water bottle (Sk: *kundika*) in his raised left hand and a rosary in his right hand. The deity is further embellished with bracelets incised with cross-hatching and armlets of which only the right one can be seen. The elegantly arranged rosary and the intricate carving of even the fingernail on the right thumb show the great attention to detail paid by the sculptor.

The principal head of the deity wears a hair band with incised cross-hatching and an elaborate round diadem above each ear finely incised with a decorative band of lotus petals and swirl pattern. From these diadems, attached by a knot, ribbons with finely incised cross-hatching fall onto the shoulders and arms creating a gentle sense of movement. The ears are exquisitely carved and are embellished with moveable earrings made from the same block of sandalwood. The hair is finely incised, even depicting each individual strain of hair. The face is sensitively modelled and compared to the Tokyo National Museum Jūichimen Kannon, although retaining some of the Gupta style, shows more distinctively Chinese features: the nose seen in profile is smaller, more softly modelled and has an inward dent, where the nose joins the forehead; the lips are thinner and the mouth smaller; the eyes are more thinly slanted and without the thick wavy eyelids; the eyebrows are low-arching. The facial features as well as the slightly aloof, dreamy expression as if lost in reverie are similar to the Vairocana of the Fengxian

³² This sculpture has close stylistic similarities to both the Kumen Kannon and to a slightly lesser extent to the Tokyo National Museum Jūichimen Kannon, see Youngsook Pak and Roderick Whitfield, *Handbook of Korean Art: Buddhist Sculpture* (London: Laurence King Publishing, 2003), pp. 198-202, pl. 36.

cave at Longmen, which was completed in 675 and suggest a date for the Kumen Kannon not long after that.³³

Six diminutive heads are arranged in one row on the principle head from right to left: two tusked faces, two compassionate faces and two angry faces. This is an unusual iconographic deviation from the usual eight heads depicted on Jūichimen Kannon, hence the name Kumen Kannon. The laughing face is depicted at the back and the Buddha head (part of the face missing) above the chignon of the principal head. The front of the crown shows a small icon of Amitābha seated on a lotus throne. The six diminutive heads and the laughing head at the back are all finely carved and wear tripartite crowns with a small icon of a seated Amitābha in front. Compared to the Tokyo National Museum Jūichimen Kannon the tripartite crowns, breast-plates and niche of the main icon of Amitābha are all embellished with finely carved lotus petals, resulting in a more sumptuous and splendid expression.

The naturalistic body proportions and modelling of the Kumen Kannon, which stands in stark contrast to the abstract proportions and modelling of the Jūichimen Kannon in the Tokyo National Museum of the third quarter of the 7th century, together with the strong similarities in facial features to the Vairocana of the Fengxian cave at Longmen carved between 672 and 675, suggest a date in the last quarter of the 7th century for this Kumen Kannon—shortly after the establishment of the early Tang style seen in the sculptures of the Fengxian cave.³⁴

The highest possible level of craftsmanship of this sculpture expressed in the elaborate

³³ Matsuda, “Tokyo kokuritsu hakubutsukan hokan, 2,” p. 35. For an illustration of the Vairocana and his two attendant Bodhisattvas, see Sirén, *Chinese Sculpture*, vol. 2, pls. 453-455.

³⁴ Matsubara Saburō has also suggested a date in the late 7th century for the Kumen Kannon, see Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkyō*, vol. 3, pl. 634.

execution of the most intricate details and the sumptuous splendour of ornamentation give the term *shōgon* an entirely new level of meaning and this together with the harmonious proportions and sensuous modelling result in a most gracious and noble expression, which turn the Kumen Kannon even amongst *danzō* into an unsurpassed ideal.

The Jūichimen Kannon at Jinpuku-ji, Yamaguchi

The standing Jūichimen Kannon at Jinpuku-ji (神福寺) in Yamaguchi (pl. 35) is another imported Chinese *danzō* of remarkable artistic quality. It stands 44.7 cm in height and was carved from a single block of Chinese cherry wood including the base, although some scholars also consider it possible to have been carved out of sandalwood.³⁵ Like the Tokyo National Museum Jūichimen Kannon (pl. 33) and the Kumen Kannon (pl. 34), its entire surface is covered with reddish brown dyestuff (J: *danjiki*).

The deity stands in rather stiff, full frontal pose without any *tribhanga*, which gives it a rather archaic appearance. The body is very elongated, particularly the upper body in relation to the lower body and this sense is further enhanced by the fastening of the *dhoti* very low around the waist. Unlike the front of the body, which is flat and shows very little concern with volume, the modelling of the side and back of the body, particularly around the hips and arms, emphasizes roundness and volume. The head and feet are small and the hands are large in relation to the body. These characteristics together with the disproportionately long right arm further enhance the archaic appearance of the sculpture.

³⁵ Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Danzō*, p. 73; for a more detailed discussion of the material of this sculpture and the various opinions about it, see Yashiro Yukio, "Yamaguchi shi Hase Kannondō Jūichimen Kannon zō," *Bijutsu kenkyū*, no. 112 (April 1941), pp. 102 and 105.

The lowered right hand originally may have held a rosary and the raised left hand a water bottle (Sk: *kundikā*) according to the stipulations of the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra*. The sculptor utilized his consummate carving skill by paying the greatest attention to detail to the elaborately carved *dhoti*, scarves and jewelry adorning the body. The *dhoti* is fastened with a jewelled belt and the roll of fabric above the belt is carved in a rhythmically moving, wavy line. The turned up part of the *dhoti* below the belt is masterfully carved with complex, overlapping pleats—the deep undercutting resulting in a naturalistic depiction of the fabric. The same brilliant, naturalistic depiction of the material can be seen in the deeply cut, overlapping pleats around the hemline of the *dhoti* on the front and back. Two double ropes, embellished with beads and a knot, are fastened to the belt and hang down vertically. The deity wears a stole (Sk: *samkaksikā*) with scarves attached, which fall in two U-shaped arches across the lower body. The vigorously carved ridges and twists of the scarves together with the naturalistic sense of movement provide a strong contrast to the static posture of the sculpture. The deity wears another scarf draped across the upper body—a later stylistic feature not yet seen in the Kumen Kannon of Hōryū-ji (pl. 34).

The deity is adorned with a most elaborate necklace of highly complex design, which is much more sumptuous and ornate than the simpler combination of a pearl necklace and breast-plate of the Tokyo National Museum Jūichimen Kannon and the Hōryū-ji Kumen Kannon. The necklace consists of a more elaborate version than the breast-plate worn by these two sculptures and is further embellished with flower-shaped medallions to which diadems in the shape of C-curly and leaves are attached and from which in turn double beaded chains are drooping in semi-circular form with small

pendants attached. This type of complex necklace and the motif of C-shaped curls can be found on Tang dynasty Bodhisattva sculptures of the first quarter of the 8th century.³⁶ Like the Tokyo National Museum Jūichimen Kannon, the deity is further adorned with an X-shaped jewelry chain consisting of two chains attached to the necklace looping across the upper body and two chains attached to the belt at the back looping across the front of the lower body joined together by an elaborately carved flower-shaped diadem on top of the navel.³⁷ The flower of the diadem is surrounded with C-shaped curls carved in relief, which together with the most intricately decorated armbands and bracelets reflect the highest level of miniature carving skill of the sculptor and his ability to express the concept of *shōgon* in the elaborate design and sumptuous execution of the jewelry.

The same consummate miniature carving skill is evident in the crown of the principal head consisting of a finely carved double band with beads and elaborate diadems and the necklaces of the nine diminutive heads. The sides of the crown are decorated with ribbons (section now missing), which flutter in an S-shaped curve from the shoulders along the arms creating a naturalistic sense of movement. The diminutive heads would have originally been arranged in two tiers crowned by a Buddha head, unlike the ones of the Tokyo National Museum Jūichimen Kannon and Kumen Kannon, which are arranged in one row. Only five of the diminutive heads remain: two tusked faces, two angry faces and the laughing face at the back. Each of these remaining heads wears a tripartite crown with a seated image of Amitābha in the centre, similar to the one worn by the diminutive

³⁶ For this type of highly ornate necklace, see the standing Bodhisattva dated to 706 in the University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia: Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkyō*, vol. 3, pl. 648; for the C-shaped curl motif on the necklace, see a torso of a Bodhisattva, which can be dated to the early 8th century: Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkyō*, vol. 3, pl. 695.

³⁷ The combination of X-shaped jewelry chains with a very ornate necklace as well as the arrangement of the diminutive heads in two tiers are similar to the one on the wooden Eleven-Headed Kannon excavated in Toyuk, Turfan, which is dated to the late 7th to early 8th century, now in the collection of the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin. See Nara kenritsu bijutsukan, et al., eds., *Saiyūki no shiruku rōdo*, p. 61, pl. 15.

heads of Kumen Kannon. Each head is finely carved with sensitively modelled facial features and gives a sense of what the principal head must have looked like, which, unfortunately has lost its nose, mouth, right ear and a section of the lower part of the face. Nevertheless, the face with its subtle volume and sensitively modelled, smooth surface still expresses great nobility and grace. The gently curved eyebrows, thinly slanted eyes slightly pulled up near the edge, indentation at the centre of the hair and modelling of cheeks and forehead are very similar to the Eleven-Headed Kannon from the Qibaotai (七宝台; Platform of Seven Treasures) at Guangzhaisi (光宅寺), near Xi'an, which dates from the early 8th century and is now in the collection of the Tokyo National Museum.³⁸

The Jinpuku-ji Kannon has been variously dated by scholars between the mid-7th to the first half of the 9th century.³⁹ However, despite a certain archaism due to the posture and proportions of this sculpture, the stylistic similarities of the elaborate necklace to those on sculptures of the first quarter of the 8th century together with the similarity of the facial features and modelling of the face to the Eleven-Headed Kannon from Qibaotai of the early 8th century, suggest a date in the first quarter of the 8th century. The Jūichimen Kannon of Jinpuku-ji is a masterpiece contrasting the static quality of the intricately carved jewelry with the dynamic movement and twists of the scarves. Both the jewelry and fabric of the scarves and *dhoti* show a keen interest in the naturalistic depiction of materials in which the sculptor has succeeded masterfully. In the naturalistic depiction of the intricately carved jewelry and vigorously carved scarves, which create an exceptional expression of sumptuousness and splendour, the sculptor has taken the

³⁸ Nara kenritsu bijutsukan, et al., eds., *Saiyūki no shiruku rōdo*, pp. 188-89, pl. 140. For an excellent discussion of the Guangzhaisi sculptures, of which some bear inscriptions between 703 and 724, see Wood, "Eleven Faces of the Bodhisattva," pp. 55-76.

³⁹ Morse, "The Formation of the Plain-Wood Style," p. 191, mid-7th century; Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Danzō*, p. 73, mid-8th century; Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkyō*, vol. 3, pl. 766, first half of the 9th century.

concept of *shōgon* to its highest level.

The Jūichimen Kannon in the Nara National Museum

The standing Jūichimen Kannon in the Nara National Museum (pl. 36) is the earliest extant Japanese *danzō* representing Jūichimen Kannon and together with the Dōmyō-ji Jūichimen Kannon (pl. 37) represents the earliest surviving *danzō* made in Japan. The entire sculpture apart from the chignon, including the upper part of the lotus throne, is carved from one block of sandalwood and measures 42.8 cm in height. The chignon and lower part of the lotus base are fashioned from a different wood and attached. The sculpture is in remarkable condition with only minor losses to the tips of the fingers on both hands and free-hanging parts of the scarves. The entire sculpture is left unpainted revealing the natural beauty of the sandalwood apart from sparsely applied black ink on the hair, eyebrows, pupils and moustache (principal head only) and red on the lips of the principal head and the diminutive heads. Red colour is also applied as a highlight at the centre of the flower-shaped medallions on the crown, body and lotus base—possibly in imitation of precious stones. The finely applied *kirikane* patterns on the *mo* and *kundika* were most probably added later.⁴⁰

The Bodhisattva stands in full frontal pose with the right leg slightly bent and the left hip thrust to one side in an elegant *tribhanga* pose, which softens the otherwise frontal posture and lends the sculpture an elegant naturalistic appearance. The right hand palm facing outward would have originally held a rosary and the left hand holds an elegantly

⁴⁰ Tanabe Saburōsuke has argued convincingly that judging from its style, the *kirikane* must have been applied no later than the Fujiwara period—a time when it was customary to apply lavish *kirikane* decoration on *danzō* as an expression of *shōgon*. See Tanabe Saburōsuke, “Jūichimen Kannon *danzō*,” *Kokka*, no. 1127 (1989), p. 47.

shaped water bottle (Sk: *kundikā*). The body is well-proportioned and shows a concern for naturalistic modelling of mass and volume, particularly on the bare upper body and the exposed arms.

The Bodhisattva is clad in a *mo*, which is fastened to the waist with a finely incised string tied in an elaborate knot at the front. Above the string the *mo* forms a roll of material, which is carved very skilfully creating a sense of the fabric. Below the string the *mo* forms an apron with elaborately carved pleats, which are further embellished with a finely incised decorative band with cross-hatching and tassels. The lower part of the *mo* below the knees is deeply carved with U-shaped drapery folds, which fall in an irregular pattern, conveying a sense of the legs underneath. The masterful carving with a deep concern for naturalistic depiction is particularly evident where the *mo* is trapped by the jewelry chains, resulting in a rich array of vertical folds and between the legs where the right side of the *mo* creates an elaborate vertical fold, giving a strong sense of three-dimensionality to the sculpture. The depiction of the vertical folds on the outside of the *mo*, the prominent vertical fold between the legs, and the tassels on the apron are very similar to those on the Shishiku Bosatsu of Tōshōdai-ji, which was carved during the period of Tenpyō Hōji (757-765).⁴¹ The same consummate carving skill is evident in the scarf (J: *jōhaku*) draped across the upper body and the two scarves (J: *tenne*) elegantly falling from the left and right shoulders in a U-shape across the lower body. The scarves are exquisitely carved with deep folds and high ridges conveying a naturalistic depiction of the fabric.

The Bodhisattva is adorned with the most elaborate jewelry chains, armbands and

⁴¹ Mizuno Keizaburō, et al., eds., *Tōdai-ji to Heijō-kyō: Nara no kenchiku, chōkoku*. Vol. 4, Nihon bijutsu zenshū (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1990), pl. 117.

bracelets. He wears a simple beaded necklace with three larger beads or pearls in the centre. The shape of this simple necklace is mirrored in a more elaborate necklace consisting of a double string with lotus petals to which a large flower-shaped medallion flanked by two smaller flower-shaped medallions are attached. The three medallions are linked by beaded strings falling in semi-circles, which are further embellished with drooping pendants. This combination of a beaded necklace with three large beads or pearls and a more elaborate necklace is similar to the one on the Senjū Kannon of the Fujii-dera in Osaka and the Kannon of Gankō-ji in Kagawa, which can both be dated to the early third quarter of the 8th century.⁴²

The Bodhisattva wears an X-shaped jewelry chain (upper half missing) of beaded chains interspersed with flower-shaped medallions held together by a flower-shaped diadem above the navel. The combination of the elaborate necklace and X-shaped jewelry chain together with the arrangement of the U-shaped scarves falling across the lower body and the rather unusual gesture of both hands are similar in concept to the Jinpuku-ji Jūichimen Kannon (pl. 35) and clearly reflect the indebtedness to Chinese models. The influence of Chinese *danzō* is further evident in the roll of material of the *mo* above the string and the harmonious naturalistic body proportions when compared to the Kumen Kannon (pl. 34). However, compared to the Kumen Kannon, the sculptor was much more concerned with the naturalistic modelling of the *mo* and scarves giving them great mass and volume. The overall modelling of the body, *mo*, and jewelry chains is softer and almost modelled rather than carved lacking the precise sharpness of the carving of the Kumen Kannon, which results in a greater sensuousness of expression. The

⁴² Mizuno, et al., eds., *Tōdai-ji to Heijō-kyō*, pls. 73 and 74; for the Chinese proto-type of the elaborate necklace on a seated Bodhisattva from Anguosi (安国寺), Xi'an, which can be dated to the mid-8th century, see Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkyō*, vol. 3, pl. 734.

sculptor of the Nara National Museum Kannon used the highest level of craftsmanship to express the concept of *shōgon* in the intricate jewelry ornaments and in the lavish and sumptuous depiction of the scarves and apron of the *mo*.

The principal head wears a crown with finely carved floral diadems. Tasselled strings are tied in an intricate knot to the larger floral diadems behind the ears and fall to the elbow of each arm—further embellished with an elegantly knotted bow on each shoulder. Double pendants hang from a diadem in front of the beautifully shaped ears. The face with its half closed eyes with elegantly curved lower eyelids, high arching eyebrows, well-defined nose and full pursed lips is sensitively modelled and perfectly proportioned displaying a spiritual calm full of warmth. The softness and sensuousness of the modelling of the face stand in stark contrast to the sharpness and tightness of that of the Kumen Kannon of Hōryū-ji—a stylistic feature seen in other Tenpyō sculptures.⁴³

The nine diminutive heads are arranged in one row with the Buddha head unusually placed in front rather than on top of the chignon: two Bodhisattva faces in front flanking an icon of a standing Amida Nyorai (partially missing), three faces with tusks sticking out upwardly on the right, three angry faces on the left and a laughing face at the back—totalling eleven including the principal head and thus follow the iconography of Chinese images (pls. 33, 34). The diminutive heads wear tripartite crowns with an icon of a seated Amida Nyorai at the centre and are exquisitely carved with individualised features displaying the same soft modelling as the principal face. The three tusked faces on the right are depicted with benevolent facial features following the iconography as set out in

⁴³ The most similar Tenpyō sculpture in terms of facial shape, facial features and nobility of expression is the Kokūzō Bosatsu of Gakuan-ji in Nara. See Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Nihon Bukkyō bijutsu meihōien: Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan kaikan hyakushūnen kinen* (Nara: Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 1995), pl. 53.

the earlier two translations of the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra* by Yasogupta (570) and Atigupta (654)—as Chinese *danzō* of Jūichimen Kannon (pls. 33, 34, 35). Matsuda Seiichirō has pointed out that in Japan this particular iconography is only found in the Tenpyō period and changes to tusked faces with wrathful expression in the early Heian period with a transitional phase towards the end of the Tenpyō period, as seen in the Dōmyō-ji sculpture (pl. 37).⁴⁴ Thus the iconography of this Jūichimen Kannon clearly predates that of the Dōmyō-ji sculpture and firmly places it in the Tenpyō period.

The stylistic similarities—the tassels on the apron, the vertical folds on the side of the legs towards the hemline and between the legs—to those of the Shishiku Bosatsu of Tōshōdai-ji carved during Tenpyō Hōji (757-765), the similarities in the beaded necklace with three large pearls in combination with a more complex necklace to those of the Senjū Kannon in the Fujii-dera in Osaka, which is datable to the early third quarter of the 8th century, together with the iconography of the three tusked faces with benevolent expression typical of the Tenpyō period, suggest a date late in the third quarter of the 8th century for this sculpture.⁴⁵

The perfect proportions and consummate carving skill, which in comparison to Chinese *danzō* shows a softness and sensuousness more associated with modelling rather than carving, lend this sculpture a degree of splendour, nobility, and gentle spirituality that is exceptional, even amongst *danzō*. In spite of the obvious influence of Chinese

⁴⁴ For a detailed discussion of the development of this particular iconography from the Tenpyō to the early Heian period with numerous examples, see Matsuda Seiichirō, “Ōsaka Dōmyō-ji Jūichimen Kannon zō (den kokoromi no Kannon) ni tsuite, 1,” *Museum*, no. 448 (1988), pp. 8-9; Matsuda Seiichirō points out that the exact date when the change in iconography took place is not yet known, but must have occurred towards the end of the Tenpyō period.

⁴⁵ The dating of this sculpture varies amongst scholars: Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Tempyō* (Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 1998), pl. 78, (Inoue Katsutoshi) before 770; Morse, “The Formation of the Plain Wood Style,” p. 196, last decades of the 8th century; Tanabe Saburōsuke, “Jūichimen Kannon danzō,” p. 47, first half of 9th century.

danzō, the Japanese sculptor used his own artistic sensitivity to express the concept of *shōgon* in the splendour of the jewelry, crown, scarves, and ribbons—distinctively different from the style of Chinese *danzō*—yet equally masterful and true to the very concept of *shōgon*.

The Jūichimen Kannon at Dōmyō-ji, Osaka

The standing Jūichimen Kannon at Dōmyō-ji (道明寺) in Osaka (pl. 37) is another early Japanese *danzō*, which still shows the influence of Chinese *danzō*. The sculpture is carved from a single block of *hinoki* in *ichiboku zukuri* and measures 50.3 cm in height. The entire sculpture is covered with a reddish-brown dyestuff (J: *danjiki*) and the sculptor only applied black and blue colouring to the hair, eyebrows, pupils and moustache and red to the lips. The Bodhisattva stands in a full frontal pose with only a very slight thrust of the left hip, which gives it a rather stiff, archaic appearance. The body is sturdy, the neck short and the head large in proportion to the body, which further enhances the sturdiness of expression. Neither the proportions nor the modelling show any concern for naturalistic expression on part of the sculptor.

The Bodhisattva is clad in a *mo*, which is fastened at the waist by a belt with incised needle pattern. Above the belt the *mo* forms a roll of material arranged in a wave pattern. Below the belt the *mo* forms an apron decorated with a pearl-string border and tassels. The apron is arranged in sharply carved pleats in the centre and symmetrically placed pleats on the left and right. On the lower part of the *mo* drapery folds cascade down on both legs. The hemline finishes in a gentle curve resting on both feet. A series of sharply carved vertical folds are arranged on each leg where the jewelry chains (now missing) are

trapped by the *mo*. The wavy band of fabric above the belt, the apron with tassels, the vertical folds where the jewelry is trapped by the *mo*, and the gently curved hemline are stylistic elements that are close to those of the Shūhō-ō Bosatsu and Shishiku Bosatsu of Tōshōdai-ji, which date to the period of Tenpyō Hōji (757-65) and are ultimately derived from Chinese *danzō* such as the Jinpuku-ji Jūichimen Kannon (pl. 35).⁴⁶ However, the carving style of the Dōmyō-ji sculpture is sharper and shallower and more akin to the carving of the Jinpuku-ji Jūichimen Kannon.

A much softer and deeper carving style is evident in the elaborate scarves, which adorn the Bodhisattva: one is draped across the upper body (J: *jōhaku*) falling from the left shoulder, the other (J: *tenne*) covers both shoulders at the back where it forms a stole with simple semi-circular folds and in front drapes elegantly along both legs in two semi-circular folds looping over the left elbow and right wrist respectively and fluttering along both sides of the body (free-hanging parts later replacements). The scarves are rendered in elaborate folds and twists, particularly in front of both knees, similar to those on the Jinpuku-ji Jūichimen Kannon. However, the carving on the Dōmyō-ji sculpture reflects a greater concern with volume. The sculpture is adorned with elaborate bracelets, armbands and a necklace. The bracelets consist of a double string with a band of lotus petals on both sides. The armbands have a similar structure with the addition of a pearl-string and an elaborately carved medallion to which ribbons are attached. Similar armbands with minor variations can be seen on many Bodhisattva figures of the third quarter of the 8th century such as the Jūichimen Kannon sculptures in the Nara National Museum (pl. 35) and Tōshōdai-ji, although they ultimately derive from Chinese Buddhist sculptures such as the Jinpuku-ji Jūichimen Kannon (pl. 35).⁴⁷ The most elaborate ornament worn by the

⁴⁶ Mizuno, et al., eds., *Tōdai-ji to Heijō-kyō*, pls. 116 and 117.

Dōmyō-ji sculpture is a finely carved necklace, consisting of a double string with lotus petals to which flower-shaped medallions are attached at the centre and on both shoulders. Three ornaments are attached at the centre and to the left and right, consisting of two C-shaped curls and a leaf, which are enveloped by a beaded string with three large pendants attached at the points of the three ornaments and further embellished by drooping beads. This type of necklace was adopted from Chinese sculptures of the early 8th century as seen in the Jinpuku-ji Jūichimen Kannon (pl. 35) and in modified form frequently appears on Bodhisattva images of the second half of the 8th century in Japan.⁴⁸ The carving of the necklace on the Dōmyō-ji sculpture is sharp, precise and intricate, displaying the consummate carving skill of the sculptor.

Jūichimen Kannon wears a simple crown with indentations above both ears and the front part of the crown slightly tilted forward—a type frequently seen on sculptures of the third quarter of the 8th century.⁴⁹ Attached to the crown behind both ears, double-beaded strings interspersed with flower-shaped medallions fall in distinctive S-shaped curves onto the shoulders and forearms, which are stylistically similar to the S-shaped ribbons of the Jūichimen Kannon sculptures of Jinpuku-ji and Tōshōdai-ji. Kannon would originally have been adorned with X-shaped jewelry chains (now lost), which would have been held together by a diadem on the navel looping to the back, where parts of the jewelry chains attached to the belt can still be seen. The nail holes underneath the

⁴⁷ For the Jūichimen Kannon of Tōshōdai-ji, see Mizuno, et al., eds., *Tōdai-ji to Heijō-kyō*, pl. 119.

⁴⁸ For a Tang dynasty stone torso of a Bodhisattva, with a necklace decorated with the same C-shaped curls and leaves, which can be dated to the first half of the 8th century, see Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkyō*, vol. 3, pl. 695; for a detailed discussion of the stylistic development of necklaces on Bodhisattva sculptures of the late 7th to the late 8th century, see Matsuda Seiichirō, “Bosatsu zō, Shinshō zō no isshōkeishiki no tenkai,” in *Nihon bijutsu zenshū*, vol. 4, *Tōdai-ji to Heijō-kyō: Nara no kenchiku, chōkoku*, eds. Mizuno Keizaburō et al. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1990), pp. 181-84.

⁴⁹ See the Bonten and Taishakuten sculptures of Tōshōdai-ji: Mizuno, et al., eds., *Tōdai-ji to Heijō-kyō*, pl. 108 and black and white pl. 107.

navel and on both shoulders indicate that the jewelry must have been carved from a different material and was later attached. This shows a considerable departure from carving the jewelry directly on the sculpture from the same block of material as seen in Chinese examples (pls. 33-35) and the Nara National Museum Jūichimen Kannon (pl. 36) and marks a new innovation by the Japanese sculptor that would continue throughout the Heian period.

Ten diminutive heads are arranged in one row, which together with the Buddha head and the principal head make up twelve rather than eleven heads and thus do not follow the iconography of Chinese images such as the Nara National Museum Jūichimen Kannon (pl. 36), but an iconography that seems to have been adopted in Japan during the second half of the 8th century.⁵⁰ All the diminutive heads including the icon of a standing Amida Nyorai are later replacements, apart from the Bodhisattva head behind the icon of Amida, the first tusked head on the right, and the laughing face at the back, which are original. The tusked face is depicted with thick eyebrows and a wrathful, angry facial expression—an iconographic feature that links it to the late Tenpyō or early Heian period—and is certainly later than the benevolent facial features of the tusked faces of the Nara National Museum Jūichimen Kannon of the third quarter of the 8th century.⁵¹ The principal head is large and the face broad with a prominent chin, low forehead and full, fleshy cheeks. The eyes are thin and pulled upwards and the eyebrows are flatly

⁵⁰ Itō Shirō has pointed out that the iconography of eleven small heads together with the principal head totaling twelve was stipulated in Huizhao's commentary, the *Jūichimen shinju gisho*, which was brought to Japan in Tenpyō 15 (743) and therefore argues that this iconography must have been adopted shortly after that date. See Itō Shirō, "Jūichimen Kannon zō," in *Mii-dera no bukkyō bijutsu*, Kenkyū happyō to zadankai, vol. 20: Josei kenkyūkai hōkokusho (Kyoto: Bukkyō bijutsu kenkyū Ueno kinen zaidan, 1990), pp. 6-7.

⁵¹ Matsuda Seiichirō has pointed out that the expression of the tusked faces changed from a benevolent one in the Tenpyō period to a wrathful one in the early Heian period with a transitional phase in the late Tenpyō period. See Matsuda, "Ōsaka Dōmyō-ji Jūichimen Kannon zō, 1," pp. 8-9.

curved with a narrow width between eyes and eyebrows. The nose bridge is sharp and narrow and the fleshy lips are tightly closed. The facial expression is brooding with an air of mystery.

The broad face with its prominent chin, thin slanted eyes, low forehead and fleshy cheeks is similar in style to the facial features of the Rushana Butsu, Bonten and Taishakuten of Tōshōdai-ji, which were made in the period of Tenpyō Hōji (757-765).⁵² However, the sharply modelled nose with its long, thin nose bridge and the sharp modelling of the face are similar to the Yakushi Nyorai at Jingo-ji in Kyoto, which was made during the period of Enryaku (782-793).⁵³

Due to the stylistic similarities of the *mo* and *tenne* to the Shūhō-ō Bosatsu, Shishiku Bosatsu and Jūichimen Kannon of Tōshōdai-ji and to the stylistic similarities in facial features to the Rushana Butsu, Bonten and Taishakuten of Tōshōdai-ji, Matsuda Seiichirō has argued for a date during the period of Jingo Keiun and Hōki (767-781).⁵⁴ However, considering the sharp nose bridge and sharp modelling of the face not found in the Tōshōdai-ji sculptures, but seen in the Jingo-ji Yakushi together with the sturdy body proportions and iconography of the tusked face with wrathful expression associated with the early Heian period, I would suggest a date in the last quarter of the 8th century. This sculpture is a sublime example of a *danzō*, in which the sculptor adheres to the type-style of *danzō* in terms of small size, intricate carving and rich adornment of jewelry, ornaments and scarves, expressing the concept of *shōgon* so vital for *danzō*, but models these elements in the distinctive period-style of sturdiness of body proportions and brooding facial expression of the late 8th century.

⁵² For the Rushana Butsu of the Kondō, see Mizuno, et al., eds., *Tōdai-ji to Heijō-kyō*, pls. 105-106.

⁵³ For the Jingo-ji Yakushi, see Mizuno, et al., eds., *Mikkyō jūin to butsuzō*, pls. 4-5.

⁵⁴ Matsuda, “Ōsaka Dōmyō-ji Jūichimen Kannon zō, 2,” p. 33.

The Jūichimen Kannon at Hōshaku-in, Yamagata

The standing Jūichimen Kannon at Hōshaku-in (宝積院) in Yamagata (pl. 38) is carved from a single piece of *kaya* in *ichiboku zukuri* and measures 52 cm in height. The sculpture has a number of idiosyncratic features that make it unique amongst *danzō* of Jūichimen Kannon. In contrast to other images, the deity stands with the left rather than the right leg bent and the hip swaying in an elegant curve to the right instead of the left in a pronounced *tribhanga* pose, which gives a sensuous expression to the sculpture. This expression of sensuousness is further enhanced by the soft, opulent fleshiness of the upper body, arms and legs underneath the *mo*.⁵⁵ The deity gracefully stretches the right arm forward with palm outward (finger tips later replacements) and may have originally held a rosary, whilst the raised left hand (finger tips later replacement) holds a *kundika*.

The sculpture is well-proportioned and the upper body with its broad shoulders and soft, fleshy volume is particularly emphasized. The posture with its elegantly swaying hip, the gracefully extended right arm, the broadness of the upper body and the modelling of plump fleshiness is similar to the standing Bodhisattva in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, which is datable to the early 9th century.⁵⁶

The deity wears a *mo*, which is fastened around the waist by a belt embellished at the centre with a flower-shaped medallion. Part of the *mo* forms a roll of fabric, which falls over the upper edge of the belt in an elegant wavy curve revealing the flower-shaped medallion at the centre. Beneath the belt, the *mo* forms an apron, which is partially

⁵⁵ This sensuousness of fleshy volumes and voluptuousness derives from the influence of Chinese sculptures of the mature Tang style of the first half of the 8th century, particularly those from Tianlongshan. See Sirén, *Chinese Sculpture*, vol. 2, pls. 495, 500, 501.

⁵⁶ See Kurata Bunsaku, ed., *Chōkoku*, vol. 8, Zaigai Nihon no shihō (Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1980), pl. 15.

covered by the *jōhaku*. The *mo* falls in half U-shaped folds along both legs, forming an elaborate pattern of a swirl-shape and a wave-line between the legs with the hemline arranged in prominent turn-ups below the ankles. The drapery of the *mo* is exquisitely carved in high relief conveying a great sense of three-dimensionality. Whilst the half U-shaped folds on both legs are stylistically similar to those on the Shūhō-ō Bosatsu and the prominent turn-ups on the hemline are similar to those on the Daijizai-ō Bosatsu of Tōshōdai-ji (Tenpyō Hōji, 757-765), the *mo* falling in thick pleats over the edge of the base at the back, is a unique characteristic not to be found in any other known example.⁵⁷

An even higher level of craftsmanship is displayed in the sublime carving of the complex and elaborate scarves that adorn the deity. *Jōhaku*—rather than falling across the upper body—falls from the left shoulder across the right thigh opening up widely in a pattern of deeply carved, irregular folds adding another idiosyncratic element to this sculpture. One part of *tenne* loops from the right shoulder in an elegant U-shape across the lower body over the left forearm fluttering freely (free-hanging part a later replacement) along the lower part of the body onto the base. The other part of *tenne* loops from the back over the left forearm intertwining with the U-shaped part and looping in an elegant curve over the right forearm and fluttering along the body (free-hanging part lost) onto the lotus base in perfect symmetry with the left side. At the back, *jōhaku* and *tenne* are crossed in an X-shape. The only other sculpture with this kind of X-crossed scarves at the back is the Hōbodai-in Bosatsu sculpture, which can be dated to the late 8th century.⁵⁸ The intertwining and twisting of *tenne* can be seen on the Dōmyō-ji Jūichimen Kannon (pl. 37), which is datable to the last quarter of the 8th century and is ultimately derived

⁵⁷ For the Shūhō-ō and Daijizai-ō Bosatsu, see Mizuno, et al., eds., *Tōdai-ji to Heijō-kyō*, pls. 116 and 118.

⁵⁸ For an illustration, see Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Danzō*, pp. 132-33, pl. 59, dated to the early 9th century; Mizuno, et al., eds., *Mikkyō jūin to butsuzō*, pl. 7, dated to the late 8th century.

from Chinese *danzō* such as the Jinpuku-ji sculpture (pl. 35). However, none of these earlier sculptures, apart from the Hōbodai-in sculpture, show the complexity of arrangement and rich, ornamental character of the scarves, which for the sculptor of the Hōshaku-in image seems to have been a means of lavish adornment in the sense of *shōgon* expressed through the highest level of craftsmanship in the deeply cut, dense drapery folds.

The deity is only adorned with a pair of bracelets, but symmetrically placed, round marks around the neck—one in front of the neck and one on each shoulder—suggest that, originally, a separately made necklace was attached, which is now lost. The deity wears an elaborate crown, which consists of a band of stylised lotus petals and a pearl-string border, which most unusually is indented at various points, similar to the crowns of the two attendants of the Yakushi triad of Kachio-ji in Osaka, which are datable to the first half of the 9th century.⁵⁹ Attached to the crown in an elaborately tied knot are finely incised ribbons, which wind down the shoulder in an elaborate S-curve. The arrangement of ribbons in S-shaped curves derives from Chinese *danzō* such as the Jinpuku-ji Jūichimen Kannon (pl. 35) and can also be seen on the Dōmyō-ji (pl. 37) and Tōshōdai-ji Jūichimen Kannon sculptures. The hair of the deity is arranged in locks with finely incised individual strands. Another idiosyncratic element of this sculpture is the arrangement of the hair into large, elaborate curls above both ears and smaller curls in front—a combination, which cannot be seen on any other sculpture.⁶⁰ The face of the principal head is sensitively modelled with a prominent chin and full, fleshy cheeks; a small mouth with pursed lips, high arching eyebrows and thin, slanted eyes. The

⁵⁹ See Mizuno, et al., eds., *Mikkyō jūin to butsuzō*, pls. 16-18.

⁶⁰ The Jūichimen Kannon of Hokke-ji in Nara, which can be dated to the second quarter of the 9th century, features only the larger curls above the ears. See Mizuno, et al., eds., *Mikkyō jūin to butsuzō*, pls. 61-62.

expression is introspective with a slight sense of brooding. The overall proportions of the face and the modelling of the chin, cheeks, mouth and the folds around the neck are similar to the Hōbodai-in Bosatsu of the late 8th century. The eight diminutive heads on the principal head including the small icon are all later replacements. Another idiosyncratic feature is the depiction not only of a Buddha head, but the upper body of a Buddha with the hands held in the gesture of meditation—an iconographic characteristic most closely associated with the Tendai sect.⁶¹

The stylistic similarities in the arrangement of X-crossed scarves at the back and the modelling of scarves together with the similarities in style and proportions of the facial features to the Hōbodai-in sculpture of the late 8th century point to a date not much later than that for the Hōshaku-in Jūichimen Kannon. Furthermore, considering the similarities in terms of body proportions and posture to the standing Bosatsu in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, which dates from the early 9th century and the similarity in terms of the indented pearl band on the crown to the two attendants of the Yakushi triad of Kachio-ji of the first half of the 9th century, the first quarter of the 9th century seems most likely as a date for the making of this sculpture.⁶² This Jūichimen Kannon is an excellent example demonstrating the ingenious imagination and excellent carving skill on part of the sculptor—particularly in the arrangement and ornamental execution of the sumptuous scarves—to express the concept of *shōgon* and to create a *danzō* of Jūichimen Kannon in accordance with the stipulations of the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra*.

⁶¹ Nagaoka Ryūsaku has closely investigated the importance of this iconographic feature of representing the entire upper body of Buddha rather than only the head in the literature of the Tendai sect, as well as the possible influence of the Jūichimen Kannon of Hieizan Sakino Tōin (now lost), which according to texts was of this iconographic type, on the Hōshaku-in sculpture. See Nagaoka Ryūsaku, “Yamagata Hōshaku-in Jūichimen Kannon zō o megutte,” *Bijutsushi*, no. 121 (January, 1987), pp. 47-64.

⁶² Nagaoka Ryūsaku first dated this sculpture to the latter half of the 9th century: Nagaoka, “Yamagata Hōshaku-in Jūichimen Kannon,” p. 62; but later revised his dating to the mid-9th century: Mizuno, et al., eds., *Mikkyō jūin to butsuzō*, pl. 79.

The Jūichimen Kannon at Onjō-ji, Shiga

The standing Jūichimen Kannon of Onjō-ji (園城寺) in Shiga (pl. 39) is carved from a single block of *hinoki* in *ichiboku zukuri* and measures 81.8 cm in height. The sculpture shows extensive traces of blue pigment on the hair, red pigment on *jōhaku* and *mo*, gilding on the armbands, bracelets and necklace and *kirikane* patterns of flowers on *mo*. This colouring is most probably not contemporary with the making of the sculpture and was added later—a practice associated with images of the Tendai sect.⁶³

Jūichimen Kannon stands in a full frontal pose with the bent right leg slightly moved forward and the hip thrust to the left in *tribhanga* pose. The lowered right hand faces palm outward with the fingers stretched and the raised left hand is shown with the thumb and middle finger touching. Both hand gestures indicate that the deity may have originally held a rosary and a water bottle in accordance with the iconographic requirements. The sculptor does not appear to have been concerned with naturalistic body proportions, since the body is short and sturdy with broad shoulders, the right arm disproportionately long, and the head large in proportion to the body—enhancing the sense of sturdiness. The modelling of the body and arms shows a tight fleshiness and the legs are well articulated underneath the *mo*.

The deity wears a *mo*, of which the upper end falls in an apron of deeply carved pleats and folds with a distinctive swirl pattern on the left which is repeated on the hemline on the right side—a stylistic feature seen in a number of 9th century sculptures.⁶⁴ U-shaped drapery folds cascade down both legs in a deeply carved *honpa shiki* pattern ending in

⁶³ For a detailed discussion of the colouring of this image in the context of the possible practice of colouring of *danzō* in Tendai temples, see Itō, “Jūichimen kannon zō,” pp. 5 and 7-8.

⁶⁴ See the standing Bosatsu, now in the Hosomi Museum in Kyoto: Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Danzō*, pl. 61.

prominent turn-ups on both feet. The sides of the *mo*, where the jewelry chains (now missing) would have been caught in the *mo*, show an array of sharply carved drapery folds. The back of the *mo* shows sharply cut, irregular drapery folds and the overall carving of the drapery folds of the *mo* is vigorous and creates a great sense of movement. This sharp, deep carving style is also seen in the scarves: the *jōhaku* falling from the left shoulder across the upper body; the *tenne* covering both shoulders with the right part falling in a U-shape above both knees and looping over the left arm (free-hanging part missing) and the left part hanging from the left shoulder to the back, forming a U-shape at the back and looping over the right arm (free-hanging part missing). As pointed out by Itō Shirō, the arrangement of *tenne* in U-shape on front and back is a most unusual stylistic feature.⁶⁵ The *tenne* are vigorously carved with twists and irregular drapery folds, which give them an ornamental character and adorn the deity with a sense of *shōgon*.

The deity is further adorned with an intricately carved necklace, armbands, and bracelets. The necklace is carved from a different type of wood and attached—a Japanese technique, which cannot be seen on Chinese *danzō*, on which the jewelry is carved out of the same piece of wood. The necklace is embellished with an elaborately carved medallion of a monster mask flanked by two flower-shaped medallions and two further medallions are attached to both shoulders. Double strings are skilfully pulled through the central hole of the flower-shaped medallions and issue in an elegant U-shape out of the mouth of the monster-mask, which is further embellished with pendants. The monster mask is clearly a Chinese motif, which the sculptor either adopted from Chinese *danzō* or iconographic drawings (J: *zuzō*), which were brought back in great numbers by Japanese

⁶⁵ Itō points out, that this is a uniquely Japanese feature—found in sculptures of the 9th and 10th centuries—and not seen in Chinese sculpture. See Itō, “Jūichimen Kannon zō,” p. 6.

monks returning from Tang China during the 9th century.⁶⁶ The bracelets and armbands consist of a pearl-string border, a single or a double band of lotus petals, and floral medallions, which in the case of the armbands are further embellished with ribbons. The carving of the jewelry is most intricate, particularly on the elaborate necklace and masterfully expresses the splendour of *shōgon*, which would have originally been even more splendid, as suggested by three nail holes on each side of the lower back and the draped side of the *mo*, indicating that the deity was originally adorned with additional, separately attached jewelry chains.

The principal head of the deity is adorned with a crown decorated with a pearl-string border. The chignon is crowned with a Buddha head and the ten diminutive faces (seven are later replacements) are arranged in two tiers, making a total of eleven not including the principal head—an iconography popular in Japan since the second half of the 8th century and first seen amongst *danzō* in the Dōmyō-ji Jūichimen Kannon (pl. 37).⁶⁷ The face of the principal head is broad with a prominent chin, full cheeks, a prominent nose, thin slanted eyes and low-arching eyebrows resulting in an expression of meditative tranquillity, which stands in beautiful contrast to the dynamism and movement of the vigorously carved drapery folds of the scarves and *mo*. The face shows the same tight fleshiness as the body and has been smoothly polished giving the wood a beautiful lustre.

The close stylistic similarities in terms of the broad face, facial features, modelling of face and upper body, armbands and bracelets to the five Kokūzō Bosatsu of Jingo-ji in

⁶⁶ The motif of the monster mask appears in Chinese Buddhist sculpture as early as the Eastern Wei period, for example in the halo of a stele in the Cleveland Museum of Art, dated 537. See Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkyō*, vol. 1, pl. 247.

⁶⁷ For a detailed discussion of the two iconographic types of Jūichimen Kannon, one including the principal head in the total of eleven heads as in Chinese Buddhist sculptures and in Japanese examples of the Hakuō period and the other excluding the principal head in the total of eleven heads introduced in the Nara period, see: Itō, “Jūichimen Kannon zō,” pp. 6-7.

Kyoto suggests a date in the second quarter of the 9th century.⁶⁸ The Onjō-ji Jūichimen Kannon is a masterpiece of *danzō*, in which the type-style of *danzō* such as the small size, intricate carving and expression of *shōgon* is perfectly materialised in the period-style typical of the second quarter of the 9th century.

The Jūichimen Kannon at Kaijūsen-ji, Kyoto

The sculpture of Jūichimen Kannon of Kaijūsen-ji (海住山寺) in Kyoto (pl. 40), which is now kept in the collection of the Nara National Museum, is an exceptionally graceful image. It is carved from one piece of *kaya* including the lotus base and measures 45.5 cm. Apart from colouring of the eyebrows, eyes and lips the sculpture was left unpainted.

The deity stands in a full frontal pose with the right leg bent and the hip thrust to the left in a pronounced *tribhanga* pose. The right hand is held with the palm facing outward and the thin, delicately modelled fingers fully stretched. The raised left hand (upper part of forearm and hand later replacements) holds the water bottle. The body is well-proportioned, although the head is slightly large in proportion to the body and the modelling of the upper body and arms has a tightness which, however, lacks the hardness of the Onjō-ji sculpture (pl. 39) and shows a greater softness and sensuousness of expression.

The deity wears a *mo*, which is turned out in a complex arrangement of two elaborate aprons. The smaller apron is arranged in triangular shape with a complex pattern of softly carved drapery folds creating a sense of volume of the fabric, whilst the larger apron falls

⁶⁸ See Mizuno, et al., eds., *Mikkyō jūin to butsuzō*, pls. 53 and 54.

to just above the knees with a much simpler arrangement of folds. U-shaped drapery folds fall along both legs in *honpa shiki* with the hemline of the *mo* stopping high above the ankles, cascading to the sides in an array of elegant pleats forming a fishtail pattern. This formation of folds in a fishtail pattern cannot be seen in any other Japanese Buddhist sculpture and was clearly derived from Chinese *danzō* such as the Kumen Kannon of Hōryū-ji (pl. 34)—possibly to imbue the sculpture with a sense of orthodoxy within the *danzō* tradition. Another orthodox feature of this image is the elegantly tied knot on the *jōhaku*—a stylistic feature derived from sculptures of the Tenpyō period—demonstrating the excellent carving skill of the sculptor.⁶⁹

A stole covers both shoulders with the *tenne* elegantly looping across the body in a double U-shape and hanging over either arm along the body (both free hanging parts later replacements). Ribbons fastened on either side in an intricate knot above the ear elegantly sway down both arms. The soft, smooth carving and elegant arrangement of the scarves, ribbons and *mo* result in a sensuous and graceful expression, which reflects the masterful carving technique of the sculptor in adorning the sculpture with a sense of *shōgon*. The deity is further adorned with two bracelets incised with cross-hatching and a metal crown. The metal crown and small nail holes on the chest suggest that the image would have originally been adorned with a separately made bronze necklace and jewelry chains like the Enryaku-ji Senju Kannon (pl. 43).

Eleven small heads are arranged on top of the principal head in three tiers following the iconography of the Onjō-ji sculpture (pl. 39): the Buddha head on top of the chignon, one row of three and another row of seven heads (all seven later replacements) including

⁶⁹ See the Shūhō-ō Bosatsu of Tōshōdai-ji and the left attendant of the Amida triad of Konbu-in in Nara: Mizuno, et al., eds., *Tōdai-ji to Heijō-kyō*, pl. 116, black and white pl. 89.

the laughing face at the back and a small image of a standing Amida Nyorai (a later replacement). The original diminutive heads are sensitively modelled with well-defined, individual facial features.

The face of the principal head is broad and framed by carefully arranged thick locks of hair. The modelling of the face shows the same soft tightness as the upper body and arms with delicately carved facial features: thin eye slits, gently arching eyebrows, a sharp nose, a small mouth with thin lips and the *byakugō* depicted with an inset glass bead. The facial expression is full of serenity and meditative introspection. The broad gently modelled face, the arrangement of locks as well as the soft, sensuous modelling of the scarves and *mo* are very similar to those of the Nyoirin Kannon of Daigo-ji, which is dated to the first quarter of the 10th century.⁷⁰ Although the Kaijūsen-ji sculpture shows a more sharply defined, thin nose and smaller mouth with thin lips, the stylistic similarities between the two sculptures point to a date in the late 9th or very early 10th century for the Kaijūsen-ji sculpture.

The Kaijūsen-ji sculpture is a most delicate and refined example of a *danzō* of Jūichimen Kannon, which expresses the type-style of *danzō* in its small size, intricate carving with lustrous surface finishing and *shōgon* in the sumptuous scarves, drapery patterns of *mo* and jewelry (now partially missing) executed in the delicate and refined period-style of the late 9th to early 10th century.

⁷⁰ See Mizuno, et al., eds., *Mikkyō jin to butsuzō*, black and white pl. 69.

The Jūichimen Kannon at Kōgen-ji, Shiga

The standing Jūichimen Kannon at Kōgen-ji (向源寺) in Shiga (pl. 41) is the only extant example of a *danzō* Jūichimen Kannon of the Fujiwara period. The head and body are carved from a single block of *kaya* with the arms separately attached to the body. The sculpture measures 39.2 cm in height. The entire sculpture is covered with red dyestuff (J: *danjiki*) in imitation of the colour of sandalwood and only the hair is highlighted in indigo blue, the lips in red and the eyebrows, eyes and moustache in black colour.

The deity stands in a full frontal pose (front part of both feet later replacements) with the hip ever so slightly turned to the left. The legs are long in proportion to the upper body, which give the sculpture an elegant appearance. The size of the head and length of the arms are well-proportioned and together with the body form a harmonious whole. The modelling of the upper body and arms is subtle with perfectly balanced volumes and only a subtle hint of the legs underneath the *mo*. Both hands from the wrist down are later replacements, but the original hands would have been placed in the same way. The deity is clad with a *mo*, which is turned over in a complex arrangement of a double apron similar in concept to that of the Kaijūsen-ji sculpture (pl. 40). The smaller apron falls in a triangular shape with finely carved pattern of intricate pleats, whilst the larger apron is divided in the centre and falls to either side to just above the knees embellished with softly modelled folds. Subtly sculpted U-shaped folds cascade down both legs in an even rhythm. The back of the *mo* shows an astonishing attention to detail and is masterfully carved with an array of intricate pleats and a few pronounced U-shaped folds, cascading down along a central axis (lower right part of *mo* a later replacement).

The same subtle modelling can be seen in the finely carved *jōhaku* falling from the left shoulder across the upper body—the intricate pleats of one end overlapping with the apron. The stole covering both shoulders is carved with intricate pleats and folds showing an exceptional attention to detail. *Tenne* fall from the left and right shoulders across the lower body in a double U-shape (later replacements) and loop over either arm fluttering along the sides of the body (free-hanging parts later replacements). Two holes on the chest indicate that the sculpture would have been originally adorned with an elaborate bronze necklace like the Bujō-ji Senju Kannon (pl. 44) as an expression of *shōgon*. The deity wears a finely carved crown with a pearl-string border and stylised petals. The total of eleven diminutive heads and the seated image of Amida Nyorai are all later replacements.

The face of the principal head is delicately carved with downcast eyes with curved lower eyelids, a thin nose bridge, high arching eyebrows and a small mouth with pursed lips. The forehead is low with the *byakugō* inserted with a bead and the cheeks full—the modelling of the face displaying a perfectly balanced volume, which results in an expression of serenity and inner tranquillity. The stylistic similarities of facial features as well as the extremely similar modelling of face and body volume to those of the Ishibe Jinja Yakushi Nyorai (pl. 28) suggest a date in the first half of the 12th century for this sculpture.

In line with its dating, the sculpture is embellished with the most intricate and varied *kirikane* patterns on the *mo*, *tenne*, and *jōhaku* on front and back. This is an expression of the concept of *shōgon* permeated by the worldly aesthetic concept of *birei*, which started in Japan in *danzō* of the Fujiwara period (pls. 27, 28, 44) and reflects the aesthetic

refinement of this period.⁷¹ The Kōgen-ji sculpture is a most delicate example of how the type-style of *danzō* such as the small size, intricate carving, smooth surface finishing and the expression of the splendour of *shōgon* was expressed in the elegant and refined period-style of the Fujiwara period.

The Jūichimen Kannon at Shōryū-ji, Kyoto

The standing Jūichimen Kannon at Shōryū-ji (勝龍寺) in Kyoto (pl. 42) is the only extant example of a *danzō* Jūichimen Kannon of the Kamakura period. It is carved from a single block of *sakura* in *ichiboku zukuri* including the lotus base and measures 36 cm (40.8 cm including the lotus base) in height. The entire sculpture is covered with red dyestuff (J: *danjiki*) in imitation of the colour of red sandalwood and only the hair, eyes, eyebrows and lips are highlighted with additional colouring.

The deity stands in a full frontal pose with the relaxed right leg slightly moved forward and the hip gently thrust to the left. The upper and lower body are slightly elongated, which give the sculpture an elegant appearance and together with the well-proportioned head, hands and feet create a harmonious whole. The modelling of the body is voluminous and the tight fleshiness of the arms and upper body show a strong sense of realism and a concern with the naturalistic representation of mass and volume typical of Kamakura period sculpture, which is markedly different from the much more abstract treatment of body volume of Fujiwara period sculpture (pl. 42). The deity holds the lowered right hand with the thumb and index finger touching and a rosary around the

⁷¹ For a discussion of the secular aesthetic concept of *birei* and its merging with the sacred religious-aesthetic concept of *shōgon* during the Insei period, see Mukasa, “Heian kōki kyūtei kiken no biishiki to butsuzōkan,” p. 184.

wrist, whilst the raised left hand holds a *kūndika* (J: *suibyō*) with elaborately carved lotus petals, which is carved from the same block of material as the sculpture. The gesture of the right hand with the rosary cannot be seen on any other Japanese *danzō* of Jūichimen Kannon and its close similarity to that of Chinese *danzō*—the Tokyo National Museum Jūichimen Kannon (pl. 33) and Kumen Kannon (pl. 34)—suggests that it is one of a number of stylistic elements adopted from Chinese *danzō* by the sculptor in order to imbue the image with a certain orthodoxy within the *danzō* lineage.

The deity wears a *mo*, which is turned out falling in a highly complex, asymmetrical pattern of masterfully carved pleats and folds. Deeply carved and smoothly rounded U-shaped folds cascade down both legs from the thighs creating a gentle sense of movement, which is also seen in the turned out *mo*. The sash, which fastens the *mo*, is tied to an elaborate bow between the legs embellished with a floral medallion. On both sides, just below the knees, the fabric of the *mo* is draped and falls in elaborate pleats as if jewelry chains were caught in the *mo*. Since there is no indication that the sculpture was originally adorned with such jewelry chains, it further illustrates the sculptor's tendency to adopt certain stylistic elements of earlier *danzō* (pls. 34, 36, 39) in order to imbue the image with a sense of orthodoxy. The back of the *mo* falls in large, even U-shaped drapery folds and shows the same consummate carving skill as the front. The treatment of the *mo* expresses a strong concern on the part of the sculptor with volume, movement and a naturalistic depiction of the fabric, typical of Kamakura period sculpture.

An even greater sense of movement is depicted in the elaborately carved scarves. The *jōhaku* falls elegantly across the upper body with deeply carved folds—the pleats of one end overlapping and blending with the elaborate pleats of the *mo*. Both shoulders are

covered with a stole with finely carved drapery folds, the *tenne* fluttering in elaborate twists from both shoulders along the arms and falling down freely along both sides of the body onto the lotus base. Since the *tenne* of all the extant Japanese *danzō* of Jūichimen Kannon since the Tenpyō period were arranged in double U-shapes, this arrangement of *tenne*, which is very similar to the one on the Kumen Kannon (pl. 34), represents another feature adopted from Chinese *danzō*. Another orthodox element is the finely carved decoration of a medallion and three leaves on each of the upward pointing petals of the lotus base—a stylistic feature copied from Tenpyō period sculptures (pl. 36), which originally derived from Chinese Tang dynasty sculptures.⁷²

The deity is adorned with a finely carved necklace, armbands and bracelets. The necklace consists of a band decorated with cross-hatching and flower-shaped medallions with beaded pendants to the left and right. At the centre a flower-shaped medallion is attached with a large, elaborate pendant at the centre and short strings of beads to the sides. The necklace is carved from the same material as the sculpture—another orthodox feature only seen on Chinese *danzō* (pls. 33, 34) and *danzō* of the Tenpyō period (pls. 36, 37)—and was clearly adopted by the sculptor from either. The deity wears a crown with intricately carved flower-shaped medallions, which is similar in style to that of the Tenpyō period Jūichimen Kannon in the Nara National Museum (pl. 36). Furthermore the cross-hatching on the crown also seen on the necklace appears to have been adopted by the sculptor from Chinese *danzō* such as the Kumen Kannon of Hōryū-ji, which features intricate cross-hatching on its crown, belt and ribbons. The deity wears a small standing icon of Amida Nyorai in its crown and a laughing head is carved on the back

⁷² For stone steles of Jūichimen Kannon with similarly embellished lotus petals from the Qibaotai of the Guangzhaisi dating from the early 8th century, see Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkyō*, vol. 3, pls. 650, 654a, 655.

of the chignon, whilst the nine diminutive heads including the Buddha head were separately attached and are now lost. The ten diminutive heads, making a total of eleven together with the principal head, follow the early iconography of Tang (pls. 33-35) and Tenpyō period (pl. 36) *danzō* and the placement of the heads in sockets surrounded by necklaces copies the style of those on the Jinpuku-ji sculpture (pl. 35) and are further evidence for the incorporation of early stylistic elements of *danzō* in this sculpture. Elaborate ribbons hang from either side of the crown and fall along the shoulders and arms.

The principal head is oval in shape and framed by locks with finely incised individual strands of hair. The half-opened, almond shaped eyes and gently curved eyebrows are set rather high in the face, whilst the prominent nose with a long nose bridge is set rather low, giving the face a refined expression. The lips are full and fleshy and the cheeks are gently swelling. The double incised line on the upper eyelids is similar to the one on the Kumen Kannon and can be seen as another feature of Tang dynasty *danzō* adopted by the artist.

The stylistic similarities in terms of body proportions and modelling of *mo* to the Jūichimen Kannon of Hōshaku-ji in Kyoto, made by Inhan and In'un in 1233 and the stylistic similarities in terms of facial features to the Roku Kannon of Daihōon-ji in Kyoto made by Jōkei, Bettō of Higo, in 1224, suggest a date in the second quarter of the 13th century for the Shōryū-ji sculpture.⁷³ Suzuki Yoshihiro has further argued convincingly, that the sculpture was made by an artist of the Kamakura period belonging to the In school of sculpture making.⁷⁴ The Shōryū-ji Jūichimen Kannon shows the

⁷³ For an illustration of these sculptures, see Mizuno, et al., eds., *Unkei to Kaikei*, pl. 92, black and white pls. 72-77.

expression of the type-style of *danzō* in its small size, intricate carving, *danjiki* and the expression of *shōgon* on the intricate crown, necklace, elaborate scarves and ribbons rendered in a period-style, that shows a great concern for naturalism and realism as well as the incorporation of many characteristics of Tang dynasty and Tenpyō period *danzō*, resulting in a revivalist style typical of Kamakura period sculpture.

2. Senju Kannon

Senju Kannon (千手観音), the Thousand-Armed Avalokiteśvara (Sk: Sahasrabhujā Avalokiteśvara), is one of the manifestations (J: *henge*) of Kannon Bosatsu with one thousand arms and one thousand eyes depicted in each palm, symbolising the deity's enormous powers of compassion to see the suffering of all sentient beings and to help in an unlimited number of ways. The iconography and cult of Senju Kannon was known in China since the end of the 5th century and was introduced to Japan in the Nara period with the transmission of the *Senju Sengen-kyō* (千手千眼経), the principal sūtra of this deity and related commentaries in 735.⁷⁵ By the end of the Nara period the cult of Senju Kannon had been firmly established in Japan and continued to flourish throughout the Heian and Kamakura periods.

During the Nara period Senju Kannon was depicted with the actual one thousand arms, whilst from the 9th century the deity was shown with forty-two arms.⁷⁶ The principal pair

⁷⁴ For a detailed discussion of this sculpture in the context of the In school and the making of *danzō* in the In school, see Suzuki, "Hakubokuzō," pp. 25-28.

⁷⁵ For a detailed discussion of the iconography and cult of Senju Kannon in China and its transmission to Japan, see Fukushima Hiromichi, *Jūichimen Kannonzō, Senju Kannonzō*, Nihon no bijutsu, no. 311 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1992), pp. 51-57.

of hands is folded in the gesture of adoration (Sk: *añjali*; J: *gasshō*) in front of the chest and the remaining forty arms are arranged in three layers on each side with six in front, seven in the middle, seven in the back and the lowest pair of hands folded in front of the belly holding an alms bowl (J: *hōhatsu*; 宝鉢). Since each of the forty hands is said to help in twenty-five worlds, they add up to the symbolic number of one thousand.

Whilst the scriptures differ regarding the number of diminutive heads crowning Senju Kannon, the deity was depicted in Japan with eleven diminutive heads the uppermost of which is that of Amida Nyorai, Kannon's spiritual father. Furthermore, a small standing icon of Amida Nyorai (J: *kebutsu*; 化仏) is depicted in front of the diminutive heads further expressing the fact that Kannon is regarded as the spiritual manifestation of Amida Nyorai.

Danzō representing Senju Kannon appear to have been made in China during the Tang dynasty from at least the 8th century. This is illustrated by the fact, that the *Tōdaiwajō tōseiden* mentions that the eminent monk Ganjin brought a sandalwood (*byakusendan*) sculpture of Senju Kannon from Tang China to Japan in 754.⁷⁷ The only two surviving examples of Japanese *danzō* of Senju Kannon both date from the Heian period—the Enryaku-ji sculpture (pl. 43) from the second quarter of the 9th century and the Būjo-ji sculpture (pl. 44) from 1154, which is considered to be the actual sculpture recorded in the *Daihizan engi* in Kyūju 1 (1154) as “one *byakudan* Senju Kannon of two *shaku* in height”⁷⁸—illustrating that *danzō* of Senju Kannon were made in Japan during the Heian period.

⁷⁶ For Nara period sculptures of Senju Kannon depicted with the actual one thousand arms, see the sculptures at Fujii-dera in Osaka and Tōshōdai-ji in Nara: Mizuno, et al., eds., *Tōdai-ji to Heijō-kyō*, pls. 73 and 107.

⁷⁷ Tō Daiwajō Tōsei-den, in *Zoku gunsho ruiju*, vol. 69, pp. 510-527; Kuno, “Danzō chōkoku,” p. 32.

⁷⁸ Asai Kazuharu, “Bujō-ji Senju Kannon zō oyobi Bishamonten zō,” *Museum*, no. 353 (August 1980), p. 4.

The Senju Kannon at Enryaku-ji, Shiga

The standing Senju Kannon at Enryaku-ji (延暦寺) in Shiga (pl. 43) was originally placed in the Sannō-in (山王院) of the Western Pagoda and is the oldest Buddhist sculpture transmitted on Mt. Hiei. The principal head, body and lotus base (J: *renniku*) are carved from one block of *inugaya* in *ichiboku zukuri*, with the diminutive heads, tips of hands of the four principal arms and free-hanging parts of *tenne* carved from separate material and attached. The sculpture measures 51.2 cm in height. The surface of the entire sculpture is covered with a white pigment and has the following additional colour highlights: indigo blue on hair and eyebrows, black and white on eyes, red on lips, black on moustache, and gold leaves on crown.⁷⁹

Senju Kannon stands in an erect, full frontal pose with eleven diminutive heads in his crown, a third eye painted on his forehead and forty-two arms. In line with iconographic requirements, the pair of principal arms is arranged in the gesture of adoration (J: *gasshō*) in front of the chest and the lowest pair of secondary arms in front of the belly hold an alms bowl (J: *hōhatsu*). The remaining thirty-eight secondary arms are arranged on either side holding the prescribed attributes (all secondary arms and attributes later replacements). Despite the complex iconography, the perfectly proportioned body, principal head with eleven diminutive heads and forty-two arms form a perfectly balanced whole and attest to the ingenious skill of the sculptor.

The deity wears a *mo*, which is turned over forming an apron with an astonishing array of softly modelled folds and pleats conveying a sense of movement. The swirl

⁷⁹ Itō Shirō, based on his extensive research of texts belonging to the Tendai sect, has suggested that the colouring of *danzō*, also seen on the Jūichimen Kannon of Onjō-ji (pl. 39), was a practice conducted in temples of the Tendai sect. See Itō, “Jūichimen Kannon zō,” pp. 7-8.

shape depicted on the apron, on the deity's right thigh, is a stylistic feature of the first half of the 9th century, which can be seen on a number of sculptures such as the Onjō-ji Jūichimen Kannon (pl. 39). Deeply carved U-shaped folds cascade down both legs from the knee in *honpa shiki*. Elaborate pleats are skilfully carved between the legs, where the *mo* is folded over. The hemline is carved in even more prominent turn-ups than the ones on the Onjō-ji sculpture (pl. 39) and together with the exquisitely carved folds and pleats on both legs and apron conveys a sense of the weight and texture of the fabric. The soft carving of the folds is akin to the modelling of wood-core dry lacquer sculpture of the second quarter of the 9th century and reflects their influence on the sculptor of this Senju Kannon.⁸⁰

The same softness of carving is expressed in the *jōhaku* draped in elegant folds across the upper body and the *tenne*, which cover both shoulders as a stole and fall along the forearms of the principal pair of arms in symmetrically arranged pleats on either side over the lowest secondary pair of hands holding the alms bowl and flutter along both sides of the body (free-hanging parts later replacements).

The deity is adorned with an elaborate, separately attached bronze necklace (pendants later replacements) and bronze ornaments (later replacements) attached to the crown. The necklace is intricately decorated with pearl-strings, floral medallions and stylised leaves. The practice of attaching separately made jewelry on *danzō* appears to have started in Japan in the late 8th century and can first be seen on the separately attached jewelry chains (now mostly lost) of the Dōmyō-ji Jūichimen Kannon (pl. 37) of the last quarter of the 8th century. This practice had been firmly established by the second quarter of the 9th

⁸⁰ For wood-core dry lacquer sculptures displaying this softness of modelling, see the Five Bosatsu of Kyōōgokoku-ji in Kyoto and the Five Kokūzō Bosatsu at Jingo-ji in Kyoto: Mizuno, et al., eds., *Mikkyō jūin to butsuzō*, pls. 43, 53-54.

century as evidenced by the separately made wooden necklace of the Onjō-ji Jūichimen Kannon (pl. 39) and reflects a modified form of expression of *shōgon* on *danzō*.

The deity is crowned with a standing icon of Amida Nyorai (later replacement) and eleven diminutive heads, of which two Bosatsu heads and one head with angry features are later replacements. The arrangement of the heads does not follow the iconographic stipulations of three Bosatsu faces in front, three fanged faces on the right and three angry faces on the left and furthermore, the fanged faces are depicted with fangs pointing downward rather than upward. At present there seems to be no textual source that would account for this unusual iconography.⁸¹ The diminutive heads wear tripartite crowns with a seated icon of Amida in the centre and have finely carved facial features rendered with an exceptional attention to detail. The face of the principal head is broad and framed by locks of hair similar in style to those of the Shō Kannon of Daigo-ji (pl. 47). The downcast eyes with prominently curved lower eyelids, the gently arching eyebrows, the broad mouth with full fleshy lips and the long nose together with the tight, full cheeks are exquisitely carved and result in a highly individual and unique facial expression with a marked Indian influence derived from imported Chinese iconographic drawings (J: *zuzō*), which can be seen in a number of sculptures of the second quarter of the 9th century, such as the Hokke-ji Jūichimen Kannon.⁸² The highly individual facial expression with a marked Indian influence, the rendering of *honpa shiki* of the *mo* and the body proportions similar to those of the Hokke-ji Jūichimen Kannon together with the swirl motif on the apron typically seen in sculptures of the second quarter of the 9th century such as the Onjō-ji sculpture (pl. 39), point to a date in the

⁸¹ For a discussion of the unusual iconography of this image, see Itō, “Jūichimen Kannon zō,” p. 8.

⁸² For the Hokke-ji image, see Mizuno, et al., eds., *Mikkyō jūin to butsuzō*, pls. 61 and 62.

second quarter of the 9th century for this sculpture.

The Enryaku-ji sculpture is a masterpiece of *danzō*, in which the type-style of *danzō* is expressed in the small size, intricate carving, smooth surface finishing and the sumptuous expression of *shōgon* in the jewelry and ornamental character of folds and pleats on scarves and *mo*, which are rendered in the period-style of the second quarter of the 9th century characterized by *honpa shiki* and facial features with a marked Indian influence.

The Senju Kannon at Bujō-ji, Kyoto

The seated Senju Kannon at Bujō-ji (峰定寺) in Kyoto (pl. 44) is said to correspond to the very entry of “one *byakudan* Senju Kanzeon Bosatsu of two *shaku* in height,” in the *Daihizan engi* (大悲山縁起), which records the founding of Bujō-ji with the building of the Sangendō by Mitaki Shōnin Sainen (三滝上人西念) in the second month of Kyūju 1 (1154).⁸³ Furthermore, Nakano Genzō has surmised that due to the strong link of Bujō-ji with the Taira clan, it was Taira no Kiyomori (平清盛; 1118-1181), who commissioned the Sangendō and the Senju Kannon sculpture enshrined in it in 1154.⁸⁴

The main body and head of the Bujō-ji Senju Kannon are carved from one block of sandalwood in *ichiboku zukuri* with the secondary arms separately made and attached. The sculpture itself measures 31.2 cm in height and 69.1 cm including the *mandorla* and throne (J: *daiza*). The surface of the entire sculpture is covered with a yellowish brown pigment (J: *danjiki*), which is very similar to that applied to the Ninna-ji Kita-in Yakushi (pl. 27). Only sparse additional colour highlights are applied: blue to the hair, black to

⁸³ Asai Kazuharu, “Bujō-ji Senju Kannon zō oyobi Bishamonten zō,” *Museum*, no. 353 (August 1980), p. 4.

⁸⁴ Asai, “Bujō-ji Senju Kannon zō,” p. 4; Nakano Genzō, “Bujō-ji Shozō no keifu,” *Kokka*, no. 926 (1970).

the pupils and eyebrows and red to the lips.

Senju Kannon is seated in *padmāsana* (J: *kekka fuza*) with the principal pair of hands held in front of the body in the gesture of adoration (J: *gasshō*) and twenty pairs of secondary arms on each side with the lowest pair of secondary hands folded in the lap holding the alms bowl (J: *hōhatsu*). Each of the secondary hands is decorated with a carved eye on the palm, which symbolizes the powers of the deity to recognise suffering. The folded legs provide a wide stable base for the well-proportioned upper body, which shows a tight fleshiness with subtle expression of mass and volume. The drapery of the *mo* falls in an even rhythm of finely carved folds over both legs mirroring the round contours of the knees. The *mo* falls from the legs onto the lotus base in a series of softly modelled pleats. Elegantly draped scarves adorn the upper body: the *jōhaku* falls from the left shoulder, whilst the *tenne* cover both shoulders as a stole falling along the back and front of the body (partially lost). The drapery on the stole and back of *mo* is exquisitely carved in softly modelled folds and pleats.

The deity is adorned with bracelets on each arm and a separately made gilt bronze necklace with three pendants consisting of floral bronze medallions and differently coloured beads held together by a gilt bronze wheel (J: *rinbō*). A most elaborate, gilt bronze crown with open-work relief of *hōsōge karakusa* pattern, to which strings of beads are attached to the left and right and individual beads to the front, further adorn the deity. The eleven diminutive heads are all later replacements apart from the Buddha head on top of the chignon, the left and right Bodhisattva heads, and the central angry face.

The face of the principal head is broad and fleshy with a small chin. The forehead is framed by locks of hair with finely incised individual strands and has a separately

inserted *byakugō*. The eyes are downcast with thick upper eyelids, the eyebrows are elegantly high arching, the nose is sharply carved and the mouth small with pursed lips. These facial features are very similar to those of the Jūichimen Kannon at Saidai-ji in Nara, which was carved by Enshin (円信) in 1145, and Yamamoto Tsutomu has therefore suggested that the Bujō-ji Senju Kannon may have been carved by a *busshi* belonging to the En school of sculptors.⁸⁵ In any case, the superb level of craftsmanship suggests that it was carved by a master sculptor and makes the connection with Taira no Kiyomori as a commissioner of this image very well possible.

As on other *danzō* of the Fujiwara period (pls. 27, 28) *shōgon* is sumptuously expressed on the intricate *mandorla* (J: *kōhai*) and throne (J: *daiza*). The gilt bronze *kōhai* is delicately cut in relief, consisting of a double-disc shape surrounded by a sumptuous design of *hōsōge karakusa*. The centre of the halo is decorated with an eight-petalled lotus flower and the base of the *kōhai* with a row of intricately incised lotus petals. The throne is equally sumptuous and complex in its construction. The upper part of the throne, the lotus pod (J: *renniku*) and the separately carved and attached lotus petals, are made out of sandalwood, whilst all the other layers of the throne from the *uwashikinasu* down are each separately made out of *katsura* and assembled, showing the same construction technique of the *daiza* as two other *danzō* of the Fujiwara period (pls. 27, 28). In addition to the splendour of *shōgon* on the *kōhai* and *daiza*, the scarves and *mo* of the sculpture are decorated with the most intricate and varied *kirikane* patterns, that show an even greater subtlety and refinement than those on the Ninna-ji Kita-in Yakushi of 1103 (pl. 27) and illustrate the increasing refinement and subtlety in the development of

⁸⁵ Mizuno, et al., eds., *Byōdō-in to Jōchō*, p. 226, pl. 93; and pl. 86 for an illustration of Enshin's sculpture.

kirikane patterns during the Fujiwara period. The throne is also sumptuously adorned with *kirikane*—the veins of the lotus petals are painted in gold and the other layers of the throne are covered in various abstract patterns.

The Bujō-ji Senju Kannon is the most splendid extant masterpiece of a *danzō* of Kannon of the Fujiwara period. The type-style of *danzō* is expressed in its material, small size, intricate carving and *shōgon*, which is rendered in the refined period-style of the Fujiwara period characterized by the most elegant and refined expression of *shōgon* in the *kōhai*, *daiza* and intricate *kirikane*, in which the worldly aesthetic concept of *birei* merged with the aesthetic religious concept of *shōgon* to create an expression of splendour that is truly reflective of the taste of court aristocrats of the Fujiwara period.⁸⁶

3. Nyoirin Kannon

Nyoirin Kannon (Sk: Cintāmanicakra Avalokiteśvara) is one manifestation (J: *henge*) of Kannon Bosatsu, which belongs to the group of Six Kannon (J: Roku Kannon). Since all the sūtras related to Nyoirin Kannon were translated from the Sanskrit into Chinese in Tang China during the late 7th and early 8th century, it is the latest of all manifestations of Kannon to enter the iconographical canon of Buddhist art.⁸⁷ Although, there is some evidence of the existence of Nyoirin Kannon worship in 8th century Japan, the cult of this deity was properly introduced to Japan at the beginning of the 9th century by Saichō and

⁸⁶ For a detailed discussion of the unification of these two aesthetic concepts during the Insei period and the resulting style in Buddhist sculpture, see Mukasa, “Inseiki no zōbutsu to Birei no butsuzō,” p. 24; and Mukasa, “Heian kōki kyūtei kiken no biishiki to butsuzōkan,” p. 187.

⁸⁷ For a list of sūtras related to Nyoirin Kannon with their date of translation, see Inoue, *Nyoirin Kannonzō*, *Batō Kannonzō*, p. 19.

Kūkai and continued to flourish throughout the Heian period.⁸⁸ Nyoirin Kannon was worshipped in Japan as a protector against calamities such as thunderstorms, illnesses and demons and as the giver of long life.

Iconographically, Nyoirin Kannon is seated in the position of royal ease (Sk: *Mahārājalīlāsana*; J: *rinnōza*) and although there are two-, four-, ten- and twelve-armed versions of this deity, the most commonly depicted form is the one with six arms. The first right hand touches the cheek indicating the compassionate contemplation of the suffering of all sentient beings, the second right hand holds the wish-granting jewel (J: *nyoi hōju*; Sk: *cintāmani*) indicating the deity's enormous power to grant wishes and the lowered third right hand holds a rosary (J: *nenju*). The first left hand is lowered with the palm facing down, often pressing on a small rock, representing Mount Potalaka, where Kannon is believed to reside; the second left hand holds a lotus flower and on the tip of the index finger of the third left hand the wheel of law (J: *rinbō*; Sk: *dharmacakra*) is depicted, indicating the wisdom Nyoirin Kannon dispenses to the worshipper. The Bodhisattva's name derives from his two primary attributes, the wish-granting jewel (J: *nyoi hōju*) and the wheel of law (J: *rin*), symbolizing the deity's two main capacities of granting wishes and bestowing wisdom to the devotee.

The only extant example of a *danzō* Nyoirin Kannon comes from Tang China (pl. 45) and dates from the second half of the 8th century, illustrating that *danzō* representing Nyoirin Kannon were made in Tang China. No actual Japanese examples of *danzō* of Nyoirin Kannon has survived and textual sources are equally scarce. However, an entry in the *Anjō-ji garan engi shizaichō* (安祥寺伽藍縁起資財帳) in Jōgan 13 (871) of

⁸⁸ For a detailed discussion of the cult of Nyoirin Kannon during the Nara and Heian periods, see Inoue, *Nyoirin Kannonzō*, *Batō Kannonzō*, pp. 26-41

“one *byakudan* Nyoirin Kanzeon Bosatsu,”⁸⁹ illustrates that *danzō* of Nyoirin Kannon were made in Japan. However, the dearth of actual extant examples and textual references suggests that this manifestation of Kannon was much less commonly made as *danzō* than other forms of Kannon such as Jūichimen Kannon.

The Nyoirin Kannon at Hōryū-ji, Nara

The seated Nyoirin Kannon, kept at Hōryū-ji in Nara (pl. 45), is the only extant example of a *danzō* representing Nyoirin Kannon. The entire sculpture, including the six arms and lotus pod (J: *renniku*), was carved from one block of sandalwood and measures 17.9 cm in height. The entire surface of the sculpture is covered with a reddish brown dyestuff (J: *danjiki*) and the following sparse colour highlights were added: blue to the hair, black to the pupils and eyebrows, red to the lips and gold colour to the crown, bracelets and armlets.

Nyoirin Kannon is seated in the posture of royal ease (Sk: *Mahārājalīlāsana*) with the right foot placed on the sole of the left foot. The elbow of one of the right arms rests on the right knee with the palm of the hand touching the cheek. The hand of one of the left arms is flatly pressed against a rock supporting the posture of the deity. The other four hands have lost the prescribed attributes such as the flaming jewel (J: *nyoi hōju*), the wheel of the Buddhist law (J: *rinbō*), the rosary, and the lotus stem. The deity wears a *dhoti*, which is fastened by a sash and tied in an elegant knot. The two ends of the sash spill from underneath the left leg onto the dais where they are carved fully in the round. The carving of the knot and pleats of the sash as well as the softly modelled folds of the

⁸⁹ Kuno, “Danzō chōkoku,” p. 33.

dhoti, clinging tightly to the legs and revealing the soft fleshy mass of the legs underneath, show the consummate carving skill of the artist. The same proficiency of carving is further illustrated on the large, circular folds at the back of the *dhoti*. The modelling of the knot and sash is stylistically very similar to the one on a Tang dynasty torso of a Bodhisattva, dated to the first half of the 8th century in the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, whilst the modelling of the folds on the back of the *dhoti* is similar to another Tang dynasty torso of a Bodhisattva of the same date.⁹⁰ The deity also wears a scarf elegantly draped across the upper body with finely incised pleats.

Nyoirin Kannon is adorned with bracelets consisting of a pearl-string border and stylised lotus leaves, armlets made up of a band of lozenge pattern and stylised leaves and a necklace consisting of a pearl-string border and a border of stylised petals with a large floral medallion at the centre. The deity is further embellished with earrings and ribbons attached to the crown, which fall onto the shoulders. However, the greatest splendour is expressed in the elaborate crown, which consists of three bands decorated with pearl-string borders and stylised leaves arranged on top of each other enveloping the piled up chignon. The crown is further embellished with various medallions and an icon of Amitābha seated on a lotus throne.

The round and fleshy face is framed with neatly arranged locks of hair. The eyes are thin slits with sharply carved lower eyelids, high arching eyebrows, a long sharply carved nose and full, sensuous lips. The facial expression and the unique crown show a strong Indian influence, which is characteristic of the high Tang style of the 8th century.

In terms of the Indian influence and the iconography with six arms—the palm of one right hand touching the cheek—it is very similar to the Nyoirin Kannon of the Takao

⁹⁰ See Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkyō*, vol. 3, pls. 646 and 696.

mandara at Jingo-ji in Kyoto, which is based on a mandara brought back from Tang China by Kūkai.⁹¹ Based on this evidence and the stylistic similarities in the modelling of the sash and back of the *dhoti* to Tang dynasty sculptures of the first half of the 8th century, it is possible to date this sculpture to the high Tang period around the middle to second half of the 8th century.

According to the ink inscription on the base of the lotus throne, the intricate *kirikane* pattern was added by the monk Eison of Saidai-ji in Shōka 2 (1258),⁹² and illustrates that it was customary to apply *kirikane* on much earlier *danzō* in order to increase the splendour of *shōgon*.

The Nyoirin Kannon masterfully expresses the type-style of *danzō* in its material, small size, excellent carving and smooth surface finishing as an expression of *shōgon*, which is rendered in the period-style of the high Tang dynasty characterized by naturalism and a strong Indian influence.

4. Shō Kannon

Shō Kannon (Sk: Ārya-Avalokiteśvara) is the true or original form of Kannon Bosatsu as distinguished from his thirty-three manifestations (J: *henge*), which include Jūichimen Kannon, Senju Kannon and Nyoirin Kannon. This original form of Kannon had been known in Japan since the 7th century and was worshipped throughout the Nara, Heian and Kamakura periods.⁹³ Shō Kannon is most commonly depicted standing, holding a lotus

⁹¹ For an illustration of the Takao mandara, see Inoue Katsutoshi, *Nyoirin Kannonzō, Batō Kannonzō*, Nihon no bijutsu, no. 312 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1992), pl. 2.

⁹² Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Danzō*, p. 93, pl. 40.

flower in the raised left hand and the right hand lowered at the side of the body.

The three extant examples of *danzō* representing Shō Kannon date from the Chinese Sui dynasty, late 6th to early 7th century (pl. 46); the early Heian period, second quarter of the 9th century (pl. 47); and the Kamakura period, first half of the 13th century (pl. 48). This suggests that *danzō* of Shō Kannon were made in China from as early as the late 6th century. It further illustrates—together with the textual evidence—that *danzō* of Shō Kannon were made in Japan throughout the Heian and Kamakura periods from the 9th to the 13th century. An entry in the *Engi tenryaku gokishō* (延喜天曆御記抄), on the eighteenth day of the sixth month of Ōwa 2 (962), states that the eye opening ceremony of a *byakudan* Shō Kannon was conducted by Gonsōjō Kankū.⁹⁴

From the beginning of the 11th century at the latest, triads of *danzō* of Shō Kannon flanked by Bonten and Taishakuten are known to have existed. These triads were called Futama Kannon (二間観音), since they were either placed in the next room to the residential quarters of the emperor or there were two prayer rooms (*butsuma*; 仏間) in the *Jijūden* (仁寿殿) of the imperial palace, where they were enshrined. They also served as *honzon* for the *Kannongu* (観音供), which is thought to have been started by Kūkai in 823 and was conducted in the *Jijūden* of the imperial palace on the eighteenth day of each month.⁹⁵ Such a triad of Futama Kannon is recorded in the *Kakuzenshō* in a request regarding the Buddhist sculptures of the *Jijūden*, on the nineteenth day of the tenth month of Chōreki 4 (1041), as “one *byakudan* Shō Kannon of seven *sun* and Bonten and Taishakuten of six *sun* each.”⁹⁶

⁹³ For a discussion of Shō Kannon, see Ikawa Kazuko, ed., *Kannonzō*, Nihon no bijutsu, no.166 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1980), pp. 44-47.

⁹⁴ Kuno, “*Danzō chōkoku*,” p. 40; *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 1/11, p. 109.

⁹⁵ For the origin, function and development of the Futama Kannon, see Sekine Shunichi, *Bonten, Taishakuten zō*, Nihon no bijutsu, no. 311 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1997), p. 71.

The extant Futama Kannon at Tō-ji in Kyoto (pl. 48), which is considered by some scholars to correspond to the triad recorded as having been made and installed in the Jijūden on the sixteenth day of the third month of Jōei 1 (1232),⁹⁷ illustrates the continued making of *danzō* Futama Kannon for members of the imperial family during the Kamakura period.

The Shō Kannon in the Sakai City Museum, Osaka

The standing Shō Kannon originally kept at Entsū-ji (円通寺) in Sakai City in Osaka (pl. 46) and now in the Sakai City Museum, is the earliest extant *danzō* in existence and therefore, represents important evidence for the early evolution of *danzō*. The body and head are carved from one single block of sandalwood and holes on both sides of the shoulders and front of the feet suggest that, originally, the arms and feet were attached from separately made materials.⁹⁸ The sculpture measures 74 cm in height and is the largest extant *danzō* made out of sandalwood. The entire surface of the sculpture is covered with reddish brown dyestuff (J: *danjiki*) similar to the one on the Kumen Kannon of Hōryū-ji (pl. 34) and the Jinpuku-ji Jūichimen Kannon (pl. 35). The following sparse colour highlights are applied: bluish-green colour on hair, white on eyeballs and red on lips.

The deity stands in an erect, full frontal pose and the side view shows the belly slightly protruding. The upper body is short in proportion to the lower body and the head

⁹⁶ Sekine, *Bonten, Taishakuten zō*, p. 71; *Kakuzenshō*, 3, in Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho, ed. Bussho kankōkai (Tokyo: Bussho kankōkai, 1916), pp. 928-929.

⁹⁷ Sekine, *Bonten, Taishakuten zō*, pp. 71-72.

⁹⁸ A microscopic analysis of the material, confirmed it to be sandalwood (*byakudan*), see Itō Shirō, "Entsū-ji kyūzō Kannon bosatsu ryūzō ni tsuite: Shoki shō danzō tonno kanren," *Gakusō*, no. 12 (March 1990), pp. 32 and 47.

is large and this together with the full frontal, symmetrical pose give the sculpture an archaic appearance. The deity wears a thin undergarment, which is suspended from the left shoulder with a string and a *dhoti* on top of the undergarment, which covers the lower body. The *dhoti* is turned out and arranged in a double apron with shallow, sharply carved pleats that form a linear pattern. The same linear and abstract treatment of folds and pleats with few sharp incisions can be seen on the lower legs. At the back two sashes, which hold the *dhoti* in place, are pulled through a disc-shaped ornament and tied in a knot. Two scarves fall from the shoulders and intertwine on the knees. The treatment of the scarves is linear with sharp shallowly carved folds emphasizing linearity and abstraction. Stylistically, the emphasis on linearity on the drapery of clothes, the undergarment on the upper body and the sashes with a disc-shaped ornament at the back, are common features of Chinese Buddhist sculptures of the Northern and Southern dynasties and the Sui dynasty.⁹⁹ However, the way the scarves are intertwined in front of the legs is a most unusual stylistic feature of this sculpture, not seen in any sculptures of the Northern and Southern dynasties or the Sui dynasty.

The deity is adorned with the most elaborate jewelry, which consists of a necklace and X-shaped jewelry chains held together by an ornament—parts of which on the upper body have been lost. The complex necklace consists of a pearl-string and a jewelry chain with a medallion to which another string of jewelry is attached in two U-shaped curves. The X-crossed jewelry chains consist of beaded strings interspersed with square medallions held together by an elaborate flower-shaped medallion below the navel. A string is attached to the medallion, which falls between both legs and is tied in an elaborate bow. The arrangement of jewelry chains into necklaces and X-shaped jewelry

⁹⁹ See Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkyō*, vol. 2, pls. 439, 523-525, 535a, b.

chains is commonly found in Bodhisattva images of the Northern and Southern dynasties and the Sui dynasty, which also often feature the elaborate bow.¹⁰⁰ In terms of the arrangement of jewelry chains, the two closest stylistic examples are two Sui dynasty gilt bronze Bodhisattvas in the MOA Museum and Tokyo National Museum respectively.¹⁰¹ The style of jewelry and bow of the Entsū-ji Kannon represents the antecedent to that of the Tokyo National Museum Jūichimen Kannon (pl. 39).

The deity is further adorned with a most elaborate crown intricately carved in partial open-work (part of the crown, which would have been originally higher, has been lost). The crown consists of a pearl-string border and a sumptuously carved arabesque pattern (J: *karakusa*) with an astonishing attention to detail, which reflects the highest level of craftsmanship of the sculptor. Both sides of the crown are embellished with medallions to which ribbons are tied in elaborate knots (free-hanging parts missing). The front of the crown is decorated with an icon of Amitābha Buddha seated on a lotus throne, which allows for the identification of this sculpture as Kannon. A large and small flaming jewel on five lotus petals is incised on the chignon with the strands of hair depicted in the shape of flames. As pointed out by Itō Shirō, this is a most unusual iconographic feature, since the few Sui dynasty sculptures of Kannon that have a flaming jewel, feature it in their crown in line with textual stipulations rather than on the chignon as in the Entsū-ji sculpture, which appears to be unique.¹⁰²

The broad face is framed with neatly arranged locks of hair. The eyes are sharply carved with gentle curves towards the edge of the upper eyelids, the eyebrows are sharply

¹⁰⁰ See Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkyō*, vol. 2, pls. 559, 561 and particularly 579b.

¹⁰¹ See Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkyō*, vol. 2, pls. 563 and 566.

¹⁰² For a detailed discussion of this iconographic peculiarity in the context of other sculptures and the relevant sūtras, see Itō, “Entsū-ji kyūzō Kannon bosatsu,” pp. 35-37.

incised and the broad nose, which narrows towards the eyes, is a dominant feature of the face. The mouth is carved in angular lines, which are particularly pronounced on the upper lip—a stylistic feature seen on sculptures of the Northern Wei to Sui dynasties.¹⁰³ The face has a soft, gentle, child-like expression. The stylistic similarities of the Entsū-ji sculpture in terms of arrangement and execution of jewelry, the linear treatment of drapery folds, body proportions with a large head, and facial features to sculptures of the Northern and Southern Dynasties and, particularly the Sui dynasty, suggest a date in the Sui dynasty around the late 6th or early 7th century.

The Entsū-ji sculpture is the earliest extant example of a *danzo*, which shows that even as early as the Sui dynasty in China, the type-style of *danzō* was already expressed through material, small size, *danjiki*, intricate carving and sumptuous expression of *shōgon* in the jewelry and crown rendered in the period-style of the Sui dynasty.

The Shō Kannon at Daigo-ji, Kyoto

The standing Shō Kannon at Daigo-ji (醍醐寺) in Kyoto (pl. 47) was carved from one block of *kaya* or *hinoki* in *ichiboku zukuri* including the *renniku* and measures 51.5 cm in height.¹⁰⁴ The surface of the entire sculpture is covered with yellow clay (J: *danjiki*) and sparse additional colour highlights: indigo blue on hair, black on eyes and eyebrows and red on lips.

The deity stands with the right knee bent and the left hip thrust to one side conveying a gentle sense of movement. Both arms are bent and held away from the body

¹⁰³ See Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkyō*, vol. 1, pls. 243, 244a; vol. 2, pls. 375, 561.

¹⁰⁴ For *kaya*, see Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Danzō*, pl. 45, p. 103; for *hinoki*, see Mizuno, et al., eds., *Mikkyō jūin to butsuzō*, pl. 15, p. 202.

emphasizing the width of the sculpture, which together with the broad shoulders enhances the sense of volume of the sculpture. The right hand (tips of some fingers lost) is raised with the thumb and middle finger touching and may have originally held a lotus stem, the attribute of Shō Kannon, whilst the left hand is lowered in front of the body with the fingers elegantly stretched out. The body is sturdy emphasizing mass and volume as seen in the modelling of the legs conveying a strong sense of volume underneath the *mo* and the modelling of tight fleshiness on arms and upper body. The disproportionately large head, hands and feet further add to the sense of sturdiness of the body and are similar to the Onjō-ji Jūichimen Kannon (pl. 39) of the second quarter of the 9th century.

Shō Kannon wears a *mo*, which is folded out and arranged in an elaborate double apron. The front and back of the double apron shows an array of irregular, deeply carved folds and pleats. The sharp, edgy carving is further demonstrated in the irregular folds of one end of the *mo*, which is folded over from right to left between the legs and the U- and half U-shaped folds below both knees. The arrangement of the folds on both legs stands stylistically in between the irregular half U-shaped folds of the Hōshaku-in Jūichimen Kannon (pl. 38) and the dense pattern of regular U-shaped folds of the Onjō-ji Jūichimen Kannon (pl. 39), whilst the prominent turn-ups on both feet are very similar to those on the Enryaku-ji Senju Kannon (pl. 43). The great technical skill of the sculptor is further demonstrated in the elaborate pleats on both sides of the legs, in which the jewelry chains (now lost) would have been trapped. They are carved with the utmost vigour expressing strong movement, which can also be seen on the folds at the back of the *mo*.

The vigorous carving style, which creates volume and movement, is even more evident in the elaborate scarves that adorn the deity. The *jōhaku* clings tightly to the bare upper body with one end masterfully folded underneath. Both shoulders are covered with *tenne* in the shape of a stole with sharply carved, irregular drapery folds. Both ends of *tenne* are arranged symmetrically, falling from either shoulder in a double U-shape in front of the body looping across either arm and drooping on either side of the body onto the lotus base. The modelling of the scarves is vigorous with deeply carved, edgy, irregular drapery folds conveying a strong sense of movement, which is particularly evident in the freely fluttering ends along both sides of the body. The swirl shapes on the side and tip of the right *tenne* are similar to those seen on the *mo* of the Onjō-ji (pl. 39) and Enryaku-ji (pl. 43) sculptures. The arrangement and execution of the scarves with their vigorous and dense array of drapery folds can be seen as a principal means of expressing *shōgon* in this sculpture.

Shō Kannon is adorned with bracelets consisting of pearl-strings with stylised petals and armlets, which are the same as the bracelets, but further embellished with medallions and ribbons. Both the armlets with ribbons and bracelets are stylistically very similar to those on the Onjō-ji sculpture (pl. 39). Nail holes on the chest and belly of Shō Kannon indicate, that it would have been originally adorned with separately made wood or bronze jewelry as seen on the Onjō-ji (pl. 39) and Enryaku-ji (pl. 43) sculptures, which are now lost. The deity wears a seven-petalled crown with pearl-string border that is similar to the one worn by the Dōmyō-ji Jūichimen Kannon of the early 9th century.¹⁰⁵ The hair is piled up high to an elaborate chignon held in place by two hair bands.

¹⁰⁵ For an illustration of this sculpture, see Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Danzō*, pl. 55.

The broad face is framed by neatly arranged front hair and the sharply carved facial features are set low in the face. The chin is small and puffy and the modelling of the cheeks shows a voluminous fleshiness, which is characteristic of sculptures of the second quarter of the 9th century.¹⁰⁶ The sharply carved nose and arrangement of hair are similar to those of the Enryaku-ji sculpture (pl. 43). However, the Indian style of the eyes with the prominently curved upper and lower eyelids is even more pronounced than those of the Enryaku-ji sculpture. Stylistically, the close similarity in body proportion to the Onjō-ji sculpture (pl. 39), the similarity of the crown to the Dōmyō-ji Jūichimen Kannon and the similarity in the arrangement of hair and Indian style facial features to the Enryaku-ji sculpture (pl. 43) suggest a date around the middle of the 9th century. The most remarkable aspect of this sculpture is the vigorously carved scarves and *mo* displaying a strong sense of movement and Nagaoka Ryūsaku has argued convincingly that this was due to the stylistic influence of Chinese iconographic drawings (J: *zuzō*), which exerted a strong influence on the development of the early Heian period sculptural style as seen in the Daigo-ji Shō Kannon.¹⁰⁷

The sculptor of this Shō Kannon used the small size, excellent carving technique, *danjiki* and *shōgon* of scarves, jewelry and crown to express the type-style of *danzō* rendering it in the highly idiosyncratic period-style of the early Heian period.

¹⁰⁶ See for example the Nyoirin Kannon of Kanshin-ji, Osaka: Mizuno, et al, eds., *Mikkyō jūin to butsuzō*, pls. 51 and 52.

¹⁰⁷ For a detailed discussion of the influence of two-dimensional pictorial patterns from China on the formulation of the early Heian period sculptural style with reference to the Daigo-ji Shō Kannon, see Nagaoka Ryūsaku, "Butsuzō hyōgen ni okeru kata to sono denpan: Heian shoki bosatsu kei ni kan suru ichi kōsatsu, 2," *Bijutsu Kenyū*, no. 352 (February 1992), pp. 255-69.

The Shō Kannon at Tō-ji, Kyoto

The standing Shō Kannon at Tō-ji (東寺) in Kyoto (pl.48) is flanked by Bonten and Taishakuten, forming a triad known as Futama Kannon (二間観音).¹⁰⁸ They are images used for personal worship (J: *nenjibutsu*) by members of the imperial family or the emperor himself.

The sculpture is carved from a single block of sandalwood apart from the fingers of both hands and the free-hanging parts of *tenne*, which were made separately and are attached. The sculpture measures 24.9 cm in height and the surface was left plain to reveal the beautiful natural reddish colour of the sandalwood with the addition of the following sparse colour highlights: indigo blue on hair, black ink on eyebrows, eyes and beard and red on lips.

Shō Kannon stands in full frontal pose with both knees slightly bent, which softens the stance of the sculpture. The body is slightly elongated with a well-proportioned head, which gives the sculpture an elegant appearance. Shō Kannon has both hands raised in front of the chest and holds his attribute, a lotus stem, in the left hand. The deity wears a *mo*, which is turned out and arranged in an elaborate double apron. It is arranged in a most complex array of pleats and drapery folds and the *mo* from below the knees shows an equally complex arrangement of irregular, U-shaped folds on both legs and symmetrically arranged pleats on the train. The complex carving demonstrates the excellent craftsmanship of the sculptor and shows a strong interest in the realistic depiction of the arrangement and volume of cloth typical of the Kamakura period. This is further evident in the *jōhaku* elegantly draped across the upper body, the stole covering

¹⁰⁸ For a detailed discussion of the history of the Futama Kannon, see Sekine Shunichi, *Bonten, Taishakuten zō*, Nihon no bijutsu, no. 375 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1997), pp. 71-72.

both shoulders and the *tenne* falling from both shoulders across the arms, fluttering symmetrically along the sides of the body and falling elegantly onto the lotus pedestal, adding to the sense of three-dimensionality and realism of the sculpture.

Shō Kannon is sumptuously adorned as an expression of *shōgon* with an elaborate, gilt bronze necklace, X-crossed jewelry chains decorated with beads held together by a bronze wheel on the navel and an elaborate, gilt bronze crown carved in relief with an intricate *karakusa* pattern. Elegant ribbons attached to the crown, which are decorated with intricate bows, fall onto the shoulders and forearms further adding to the sumptuous ornamentation of the deity.

The splendid expression of *shōgon* is taken even further in the sumptuously decorated *mandorla* (J: *kōhai*) and lotus pedestal (J: *daiza*). The gilt bronze *mandorla* consists of a body and head halo surrounded by a sumptuous *karakusa* pattern delicately cut in openwork and represents a masterpiece of craftsmanship in its own right. The upper part of the lotus pedestal (J: *rengeza*) with upward pointing lotus petals is made out of wood and painted in green colour, whilst the lower part of the pedestal—including *shikinasu*, *ukeza* and *kamachi*—is made out of bronze decorated with medallions and lotus petals, which are painted in green, red and gold colour. The lotus pedestal is further adorned with sumptuous strings of coloured glass beads, which further enhance the splendour of *shōgon*.

The hair of Kannon is piled up high to an elaborate chignon and neatly arranged locks of hair with finely incised individual strands frame the round sensitively modelled face. The triangularly shaped nose with a high nose bridge; gently curved eyebrows; thin, half-closed eyes; small mouth with thin, delicately modelled lips and the tight modelling of

the face are stylistically very similar to the facial features of the Byakukō-shin at Kōzan-ji (高山寺) in Kyoto, which was made by Tankei (湛慶; 1173-1256) in 1225.¹⁰⁹ This together with the strong stylistic similarities in the arrangement and execution of the *mo* to that of the Roku Kannon sculptures at Daihōon-ji in Kyoto made by Jōkei, Bettō of Higo, in 1224, suggests a date around the middle of the first half of the 13th century.¹¹⁰

The style of the sumptuous *kirikane* decoration on the *mo* and scarves of this sculpture is ornamental and stylised in character and stands in stark contrast to the organic, fluent and delicate style of *kirikane* patterns of the Fujiwara period (pls. 27, 28, 44), which firmly places the date of the *kirikane* decoration in the Kamakura period.

The small size of the sculpture, the material of sandalwood, the highest level of craftsmanship and the most sumptuous expression of *shōgon* are all characteristics of the type-style of *danzō* rendered in the realistic and ornamental style of the Kamakura period to an exceptional level of artistic expression, that truly demonstrates the function of this icon as a personal devotional image (J: *nenjibutsu*) for members of the imperial family, for which only the most exceptional sculptors with the highest level of technical skill were chosen.

¹⁰⁹ For an illustration, see Mizuno, et al., eds., *Unkei to Kaikei*, b/w pl. 141

¹¹⁰ For an illustration, see Mizuno, et al., eds., *Unkei to Kaikei*, b/w pls. 72-77.

CHAPTER 6

REPRESENTATIONS OF BOSATSU AND TUTELARY DEITIES

Apart from *danzō* of Kannon, other Bodhisattvas, which were made as *danzō* include Miroku, Monju, Jizō and according to textual sources, Fugen Bosatsu. Aizen Myōō and tutelary deities such as Bonten, Taishakuten and Bishamonten were also made as *danzō* in Japan, illustrating that the making of *danzō* included a variety of iconographic types apart from those of Nyorai and Kannon discussed in the previous two chapters.

However, very few *danzō* of Bodhisattvas other than Kannon appear to have been made. There is only one extant *danzō* of Miroku Bosatsu (pl. 49), datable to the early 13th century and textual evidence is even scarcer, suggesting that Miroku Bosatsu was only very rarely made as *danzō*. The only surviving example of a *danzō* representing Monju Bosatsu (pl. 50) dates from 1302 and textual references are equally scarce. An entry in the *Honchō Seiki* on the twenty-second day of the fourth month of Chōhō 4 (1002) states that a *Hokke hakkō* (法華八講) was performed for the deceased Higashi Sanjōin in the Ichijō palace and the *honzon* was a *byakudan* triad of Amida, Fugen and Monju of under one *shaku* in height made by Kōjō.¹ This record together with the only extant *danzō* Monju Bosatsu (pl. 50) illustrate that *danzō* representing Monju Bosatsu were made from as early as the 11th century and continued to be made during the Kamakura period, although the scarcity of the material suggests that this deity was not very frequently made as *danzō*.

¹ *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 2/4, p. 700; Kuno, "Danzō chōkoku," p. 47.

Two extant *danzō* representing Jizō Bosatsu—datable to the last quarter of the 9th century (pl. 51) and the first quarter of the 13th century (pl. 52)—illustrate that *danzō* of Jizō were made during the Heian and Kamakura periods, although the scarcity of examples and lack of textual references suggest that this deity was not very frequently made as *danzō*.

Although no actual examples have survived, a number of textual references suggest that *danzō* of Fugen Bosatsu (Sk: Samantabhadra) were made during the 11th and 12th centuries. An entry in the *Shōyūki* (小右記) on the nineteenth day of the tenth month of Manju 4 (1027) records that a *Goshichinichi hōji* for the empress mother was performed at the palace on the thirty-fifth day and a *bykudan* Fugen Bosatsu of four *sun* in height and five life-size sculptures were made for the occasion.² Another entry in the *Chōshūki* (長秋記) on the twenty-eighth day of the eighth month of Taiji 4 (1129) mentions that *busshi* Ensei and Inkaku went to Emperor Toba's palace and made a *byakudan* Fugen Bosatsu.³ These entries illustrate that *danzō* of Fugen Bosatsu were made for special ceremonies for members of the imperial family during the Fujiwara period, when the worship of Fugen Bosatsu was particularly strong.

Amongst the group of deities discussed in this chapter, the most frequently depicted deity was Aizen Myōō (Sk: Rāga-rāja), since the main sūtra relating to this deity, the *Yoga Sūtra* (J: *Yugi-kyō*), stipulates, that images of Aizen of five-finger-widths (J: *goshiryōzō*) in height should be made out of sandalwood.⁴ Two extant examples of such images dating from the 14th century (pls. 53, 54) and a number of textual references

² *Shōyūki*, vol. 3, in *Shiryō taisei*, vol. 3, ed. Sasagawa Taneo (Tokyo: Naigaishoseki, 1935), p. 146; Kuno, "Danzō chōkoku," p. 48.

³ *Chōshūki*, vol. 1, in *Shiryō taisei*, vol. 6, ed. Sasagawa Taneo (Tokyo: Naigaishoseki, 1934), p. 316.

⁴ For an English translation of this passage, see Goepper, *Aizen Myōō*, p. 15.

indicate that *danzō* representing Aizen Myōō were frequently made during the 11th to 14th centuries for special ceremonies for members of the imperial family and as personal devotional icons (J: *nenji butsu*) (pl. 53).⁵ An entry in the *Denryaku* (殿暦) on the fourth day of the tenth month of Kōwa 5 (1103) states that Fujiwara no Tadazane (藤原忠実; 1078-1162) conducted a ceremony for *Daihannyakyō* and *Jumyōkyō* at Kōfuku-ji, in which a Fukūkensaku and *byakudan* Aizen Myōō sculpture of five *sun* in height were consecrated.⁶ Another entry in the *Gyokuyō* (玉葉) on the second day of the third month of Angen 3 (1177) records that Kujō Kanezane (九条兼実; 1149-1207) gave a *byakudan* Aizen Myōō to a cloistered empress as a *honzon*.⁷ This illustrates the popularity of the making of *danzō* representing Aizen Myōō as set out in the *Yugi-kyō*.

Tutelary deities made as *danzō* include Bonten, Taishakuten and particularly Bishamonten. *Danzō* of Bonten and Taishakuten were made from the early 11th to the 13th century, especially as part of the so-called Futama Kannon. Textual references suggest that from at least the 11th century Futama Kannon triads were made out of sandalwood as *danzō*, such as the earliest reference in the *Kakuzenshō* regarding an inventory of the contents of the Jijūden on the nineteenth day of the tenth month in Chōryaku 4 (1041), which records “one *byakudan* Shō Kannon 7 *sun*, Bonten and Taishakuten 6 *sun*.”⁸

Therefore, both textual sources and extant examples of *danzō* representing Bonten and Taishakuten, dating from the Kamakura period (pl. 48), illustrate that *danzō* of Bonten and Taishakuten were made as part of the Futama Kannon triad from the 11th to

⁵ For a list of five textual references, see Suzuki, “Hakubokuzō,” p. 32, footnote 13.

⁶ *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 3/7, p. 178; Kuno, “Danzō chōkoku,” p. 48.

⁷ *Gyokuyō*, vol. 5, in Zushoryō Sōkan, ed. Kunaichō shoryōbu (Tokyo: Kyōritsusha Insatsusho, 1998), p. 38.

⁸ *Kakuzenshō*, 3, in *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho*, pp. 928-29.

the 13th century and functioned as personal devotional icons (J: *nenji butsu*) for members of the imperial family and even the emperor himself.

Two extant examples of *danzō* representing Bishamonten—the Seigan-ji sculpture dated 1011 (pl. 55) and the Kongōbu-ji sculpture of the early 12th century (pl. 56)—together with textual references provide evidence that *danzō* of Bishamonten were made from the 9th to the 12th century both as part of the Shitennō and as an independent deity. An entry in the *Fusō ryakki* on the eighth day of the fourth month of Kanpyō 2 (890) mentions *byakudan* Shitennō sculptures made for the *Kanbutsu-e* at the palace by the monk Shin'e of Bonshaku-ji.⁹ According to another entry in the *Shōyūki* (小右記) on the second day of the second month of Kannin 3 (1019), Fujiwara no Sanesuke (藤原実資; 957-1046) commissioned Gyōen to make one Tahōtō and one *byakudan* Bishamonten of six *sun* in height.¹⁰ These records indicate that *danzō* of Bishamonten, both as part of the Shitennō and as an independent deity, were made during the Heian period.

The expression of *shōgon*, which is a vital element of *danzō*, can be observed in the various iconographic types represented in this group of images. It reflects the creativity of the sculptor in expressing *shōgon* as an essential element of *danzō* within the limitations and possibilities of each iconographic type.

Shōgon on *danzō* of Bosatsu such as Miroku (pl. 49) and Monju (pl. 50) is expressed in the sumptuous necklaces, jewelry chains, arm- and brace-lets, crown and decoration of the lotus pedestal (pl. 49). Since both extant examples date from the Kamakura period, they show the revival style in the expression of *shōgon* of early Chinese prototypes of the Tang (pls. 33, 34, 35) and Japanese *danzō* of the Tenpyō period (pls. 36, 37), in which the

⁹ *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 1/1, p. 382.

¹⁰ *Shōyūki*, vol. 1, in *Dai Nihon kokiroku*, ed. Tokyo Daigaku shiryō hensanjō (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1969), p. 114.

sumptuous jewelry was directly carved on the sculptures—a style of expression of *shōgon* also seen on images of Kannon during the Kamakura period (pl. 42).

Due to the iconography of Jizō Bosatsu as a monk with shaven head, the expression of *shōgon* on *danzō* of Jizō Bosatsu represented a considerable artistic challenge to the sculptor. Unfortunately, the original mandorla and lotus pedestal of the 9th century Jizō (pl. 51) have been lost, but one can surmise that the artist would have expressed the splendour of *shōgon* in the elaborate decoration of the mandorla and dais. However in the 13th century Jizō Bosatsu (pl. 52), the artist expressed the sublime adornment of *shōgon* in the intricate and lavish *kirikane* patterns applied to the robe, which allowed the artist to express *shōgon* within the limitations imposed by the iconographic requirements.

The iconography of Bonten and Taishakuten was eminently suited for the expression of *shōgon* in the ribbons and skilfully tied sashes of their Chinese-style robes. This is well illustrated in the two extant examples, datable to the 13th century (pl. 48), which further show the sublime adornment of *shōgon* in the sumptuous and intricate *kirikane* patterns applied to their robes and the delicate decoration of their openwork metal crowns and haloes. The elaborately decorated lotus pedestals further add to the expression of *shōgon*.

Shōgon on *danzō* of Aizen Myōō (pls. 53, 54) is expressed in the elaborate jewelry chains, arm- and brace-lets and the sumptuously decorated mandorla. It is further shown in the splendidly adorned multi-layered lotus thrones on which each lotus petal is finely incised with three flaming jewels.

The iconography of Bishamonten as a guardian wearing armour, imposed considerable limitations for the expression of *shōgon* on the sculptor. However, in the Bishamonten dated to 1011 (pl. 55) *shōgon* is expressed in the crown, which is sumptuously decorated

with intricately carved flowers and leaves, the highly ornamental scarves and the cloth around the shoulders tied in an elaborate knot. In the early 12th century *danzō* of Bishamonten (pl. 56), *shōgon* is expressed in the delicate and refined *kirikane* patterns of the Fujiwara period illustrating the importance of *kirikane* as an expression of *shōgon* on *danzō*.¹¹

The expression of *shōgon* on *danzō* of such varied iconographic types illustrates the creativity and inventiveness of the Buddhist sculptor in expressing the vital element of *shōgon* on *danzō* within the limitations of each iconographic type through elaborately carved ornamentation and *kirikane* patterns.

1. Miroku Bosatsu

Miroku Bosatsu (弥勒菩薩; Sk: Bodhisattva Maitreya) is the Bodhisattva presently residing in Tushita heaven (J: *Tosotsuten*; 兜率天), from where he will descend to this world as the Future Buddha 5670 million years after the death of the historical Buddha, Śākyamuni, in order to save all sentient beings that have not been saved by the historical Buddha. Six sūtras related to Miroku were translated in China between the 4th to 8th centuries.¹² One of these, the *Sūtra of the Ascent to Maitreya*, (J: *Miroku jōshō-kyō*; 弥勒上生經) was introduced to Japan in the 7th century and expounds the possibility of one's ascent to Miroku Bosatsu's Tushita heaven, where one can reside with him until the time

¹¹ For a discussion of *kirikane* on *danzō* of the Fujiwara period, see Ariga, *Taikin to saishiki*, pp. 54-56.

¹² For a list of these sūtras and a brief discussion of their content, see Itō Shirō, *Miroku zō*, *Nihon no bijutsu*, no. 316 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1992), pp. 17-19.

of his descent to this world as the Future Buddha.¹³

In Japan, the earliest representations of Miroku Bosatsu dating from the 7th century depict him contemplating in Tushita heaven—seated half cross-legged with his left leg pendent (J: *hanka shii*; 半伽思惟) and his right fingers touching his cheek.¹⁴ Other representations show Miroku seated in the lotus position (J: *kekka fuza*; 結伽扶座), with one leg folded and the other pendent (J: *hanka fumisage*; 半伽踏み下げ) or standing (pl. 49). Miroku Bosatsu is often depicted with his attributes—the water bottle (Sk: *kūṇḍika*; J: *suibyō*) and the Five Ring Pagoda (J: *gorin-tō*; 五輪塔) either held in his hand, on top of a lotus stem or in his crown.

The only extant example of a *danzō* representing Miroku Bosatsu dates from the early Kamakura period (pl. 49) and textual references are equally scarce. However, Kuno Takeshi has pointed out an entry in the *Sanmondō shaki* (山門堂舎記) and *Eigaku yōki* (叡岳要記), which records a *danzō* Miroku Bosatsu of three *shaku* in height enshrined in the Monju-in.¹⁵ The scarcity of actual extant examples and textual references indicate that *danzō* representing Miroku Bosatsu were only rarely made.

The Miroku Bosatsu at Kōfuku-ji, Nara

The wooden tabernacle (J: *zushi*; 厨子) containing the standing Miroku Bosatsu (pl. 49), a dedicatory document (J: *nōnyū ganmon*; 納入願文), two *gorin-tō* (Five Ring Pagoda) and *dhāranī* was placed inside the head of Miroku Nyorai, *honzon* of the

¹³ Itō, *Miroku zō*, p. 19.

¹⁴ For the transmission of the iconography of the contemplating Miroku across East Asia, see Itō, *Miroku zō*, pp. 32-36.

¹⁵ Kuno, “Danzō chōkoku,” p. 33.

Hokuen-dō of Kōfuku-ji (興福寺), which was completed by Unkei in Kenryaku 2 (1212).¹⁶ The dedicatory record inside the tabernacle states, that “in the second month of Kenryaku 2 (1212), Senshin (専心) placed a Miroku *byakudan* sculpture of 3 *sun* in height, which had been commissioned by him and been in his possession for some time, inside the *honzon* of Hokuen-dō.”¹⁷ It further states his belief in geshō (下生) wishing that “when his parents, master and other relatives come to enter into nirvana they should be able to see this sculpture.”¹⁸ Senshin was Kanjin Shōnin (勧進上人; Fundraiser) of the Hokuen-dō and belonged to the Shōryaku-ji. This reflects the strong Miroku belief in temples of the Hossō sect such as Kōfuku-ji and Shōryaku-ji, which was behind the reconstruction of the Hokuen-dō.

The miniscule sculpture was carved from one piece of sandalwood including the lotus pedestal and measures only 7.1 cm in height. The surface was left unpainted apart from the white and black colour applied to the eyes and white applied to the *gorin-tō* on the crown. Miroku Bosatsu stands with his right leg slightly bent and his hip gently thrust to the left. He holds his lowered right hand in the gesture of wish granting (Sk: *varada mudrā*; J: *yogan-in*) and in his raised left hand a *kūndika* (J: *suibyō*), which is intricately decorated with carved lotus petals similar in style to the *kūndika* of the Shōryū-ji Jūichimen Kannon (pl. 42). He wears a *mo*, which is turned out and arranged as an apron. The drapery folds on the apron and legs below the knees are softly carved conveying a sense of modelling rather than carving. *Jōhaku* clings tightly to the upper body embellished with softly carved drapery folds. One part of *tenne* sweeps in an elegant

¹⁶ Mizuno, et al., eds., *Unkei to Kaikei*, p. 201, pls. 37 and 38.

¹⁷ Itō, *Miroku zō*, p. 58.

¹⁸ Itō, *Miroku zō*, p. 58.

curve from the right shoulder to the left knee drooping over the left arm along the side of the lower body and falling onto the lotus pedestal, whilst the other part of *tenne* falls from the left shoulder to the right knee, elegantly overlapping with the other part of the *tenne* in an X-crossing and sweeping over the right arm along the side of the body falling onto the lotus pedestal. The arrangement of the triangularly shaped apron and X-crossing of *tenne* shows the strong influence of sculptures of the Tenpyō period, whilst the execution of *tenne* with its expression of sweeping movement—particularly on the right part of *tenne* and the ends falling in twists onto the lotus pedestal—as well as its realism in conveying a sense of the fabric, are clearly characteristics of the Kamakura period.

Miroku Bosatsu is adorned with intricately carved jewelry consisting of a necklace with medallions and pendants, X-crossed pearl-strings held together by a large medallion, armlets and bracelets. In spite of the miniscule size of the sculpture, the jewelry is intricately carved with the greatest attention to detail and reflects the highest level of miniature carving skill. The combination of necklace and X-crossed jewelry chains and the fact that they were carved directly on the body from the same material as the sculpture reflects the strong influence of *danzō* of the Tenpyō period (pl. 36) and shows the revival style characteristic of the Kamakura period also seen in the Shōryū-ji Jūichimen Kannon (pl. 42).

Miroku Bosatsu wears an elaborate crown decorated in the centre with a Five Ring Pagoda (J: *gorin-tō*), which is one of the attributes of Miroku. Ribbons attached to the crown fall elegantly onto the shoulders. The broad face is framed with locks of hair with finely incised individual strands. On the forehead a *byakugō* is depicted and the half-closed eyes give the sculpture a mysterious expression. The modelling of the face with

tight cheeks and the mysterious facial expression are similar to the Amida Nyorai at Bujō-ji in Kyoto dated 1199.¹⁹ Stylistically, this suggests that this sculpture was made at the very end of the 12th or the very beginning of the 13th century and the dedicatory record also states that Senshin had the image in his possession for some time prior to its enshrinement in 1212.

Apart from the elaborate jewelry and crown, *shōgon* is sumptuously expressed in the elaborate double lotus pedestal. The upper and lower layer of the pedestal are decorated with upward and downward pointing lotus leaves arranged in vertical asymmetry to one another—each leaf embellished with an ornament in the shape of a medallion. This style of pedestal is clearly derived from *danzō* of the Tenpyō period (pl. 36) and is another revivalist characteristic of the Kamakura period also seen in the Shōryū-ji sculpture (pl. 42). The miniscule Miroku Bosatsu shows the highest level of miniature carving skill and despite its small size sumptuously expresses *shōgon* in its intricately carved jewelry, crown and lotus pedestal. It shows that even as late as the Kamakura period, craftsmen with the highest degree of miniature carving skill continued to make *danzō* in a revivalist style inspired by old *danzō* of the Tenpyō period, which they combined with the new realism of the Kamakura period.

¹⁹ See Mizuno, et al., eds., *Unkei to Kaikei*, p. 207, pl. 64.

2. Monju Bosatsu

Monju Bosatsu (文殊菩薩; Sk: Mañjuśrī), the Bodhisattva of wisdom, was widely revered in both the esoteric and exoteric Buddhist sects of China and Japan. There are two accounts explaining the origin of this Bodhisattva. According to one account, he was born a Brahman in India and followed the way of the Bodhisattva participating in the compilation of the Buddhist sūtras. According to another account, he was a disciple of Śākyamuni, who engaged in the famous debate with Vimalakīrti (J: Yuima Koji; 維摩居士) proving to be the wisest of Śākyamuni's disciples.²⁰

There are several iconographic types of Monju, but he is generally depicted as a youthful Bodhisattva with his hair piled in one, five, six or eight topknots. He is either seated in *padmāsana* (J: *kekka fuza*), *lalitāsana*, or more rarely standing. Frequently he is depicted riding on a lion, particularly as an attendant to Śākyamuni, forming a triad with Fugen Bosatsu, or as the Wutaishan (五台山; J: Godaisan) Monju.²¹ His attributes are the sword representing his power to cut through ignorance and the sūtra scroll signifying his ability to bestow supreme wisdom.

The earliest sculptural representation of Monju in Japan is the clay sculpture in the Pagoda of Hōryū-ji in Nara, representing Monju in his famous debate with Yuima Koji dating from 711.²² Sculptures of Monju Bosatsu continued to be popularly made throughout the Heian and Kamakura periods.

However, the only extant example of a *danzō* representing Monju Bosatsu (pl. 50)

²⁰ Kaneko, *Monju bosatsuzō*, pp. 17-18.

²¹ For a detailed discussion of the iconography of the Wutaishan Monju and Monju as part of the Shaka triad, see Kaneko, *Monju bosatsuzō*, pp. 20-58 and 67-70.

²² For a discussion of these sculptures and illustrations, see Kaneko, *Monju bosatsuzō*, pp. 58-59, pls. 88 and 89.

dates from 1302 and textual references are equally scarce. An entry in the *Honchō Seiki* on the twenty-second day of the fourth month of Chōho 4 (1002) states that a *Hokke hakkō* (法華八講) was performed for the deceased Higashi Sanjōin in the Ichijō palace and the *honzon* was a *byakudan* triad of Amida, Fugen and Monju of under one *shaku* in height made by Kōjō.²³ This record together with the only extant *danzō* Monju Bosatsu (pl. 50) illustrate, that *danzō* representing Monju Bosatsu were made during the Fujiwara and Kamakura periods, although the scarcity of the material suggests that this deity was not very frequently made as *danzō*.

The Monju Bosatsu at Saidai-ji, Nara

The standing Monju Bosatsu (pl. 50) at Saidai-ji (西大寺) in Nara is a *tainai butsu* found together with other votive objects inside a Monju Bosatsu riding on a lion, which together with his four attendants, represents Monju in the iconographic form of the Wutaishan (J: Godaisan) Monju. This group was commissioned by the disciples of the monk Eison (1201-1290), who had been instrumental in reviving Saidai-ji, in Enin 1 (1293) and was completed in Shōun 4 (1302) to commemorate the thirteenth anniversary of his death.²⁴ Monju Bosatsu is carved from one block of an unidentified hardwood of strong reddish colour and the lotus pedestal is carved separately from the same material and attached. The sculpture measures 20.6 cm in height and 23.2 cm including the lotus pedestal. The surface was left unpainted apart from the indigo blue on hair, black ink on eyes and eyebrows and red on lips.

²³ *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 2/4, p. 700; Kuno, “Danzō chōkoku,” p. 47.

²⁴ Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Danzō*, p. 201, pl. 93. For an illustration of the configuration of Godaisan Monju at Saidai-ji, see Kaneko Hiroaki, *Monju bosatsuzō*, pls. 9 and 10.

Monju stands in a full frontal pose with the right leg bent and slightly placed forward. He holds a sūtra scroll (a later replacement) in his right hand and in the left hand, he would have originally held a sword, which is now lost—the sūtra scroll and sword being the two attributes of Monju representing wisdom and his ability to cut through ignorance. He wears a *mo*, which is turned out and arranged as an apron with finely carved pleats. U-shaped drapery folds are gently cascading down both legs and are sensitively modelled, conveying a sense of the legs underneath. *Jōhaku* is draped across the fleshy upper body with one end folded under and falling in pleats. *Tenne* falls from both shoulders along the sides of the body creating a sense of symmetry. The sculpture is adorned with armlets, bracelets and a necklace with one large and two small flower-shaped medallions with attached pendants. The carving of the necklace directly on the body of the sculpture shows the influence of Tenpyō period *danzō* and represents a revivalist style seen on *danzō* of the Kamakura period (pls. 42, 49).

The hair is arranged into five topknots each of which would have originally been crowned with a small icon of a seated Buddha, but only one icon still remains. The face with its slightly crooked mouth, upward slanted eyes and thick, straight eyebrows with curled up ends has a peculiar and mysterious expression. Although the craftsmanship of this sculpture does not show the same extraordinary level of skill as the Miroku of Kōfuku-ji (pl. 49) made almost one hundred years earlier, it is nevertheless still very fine. This together with the small size, reddish colour of wood and intricate jewelry directly carved on the body, characterize this sculpture as a *danzō* demonstrating the continuity of *danzō* making into the late Kamakura period and the regard for their special sacredness expressed in their function as *tainai butsu*.

3. Jizō Bosatsu

Jizō Bosatsu (地藏菩薩; Sk: Ksitigarbha, Womb of the Earth) is the Bodhisattva believed to appear during the period of lawlessness (J: *mappō*; 末法) after the death of the historic Buddha, Śākyamuni, and before the descent of Maitreya, the Future Buddha, 5670 million years after Śākyamuni's death, in order to guide all sentient beings through the Six Realms of Reincarnation (J: *rokudō*; 六道) into a better world. Originally, Jizō was a Hindu god and was incorporated into the Buddhist pantheon in India.²⁵ He was introduced to China during the Tang dynasty (618-906) with the translation of the three most important sūtras on Jizō known as “Jizo’s Three Sūtras,” which established him as one of the most compassionate and benevolent deities in Mahāyāna Buddhism.²⁶ The ten extant sūtras related to Jizō, preserved at the Shōsō-in in Nara, are evidence that Jizō worship was introduced to Japan in the mid-8th century.²⁷ The cult of Jizō in Japan increased in popularity reaching its peak during the Fujiwara and Kamakura periods due to the belief that the period of lawlessness (J: *mappō*), during which Jizō would come to one’s help, would start in 1053. Due to Jizō’s compassionate nature in saving sentient beings, particularly during the period of *mappō*, he is also closely associated with Amida Nyorai.

Jizō is commonly depicted as a monk with shaven head wearing a surplice (J: *kesa*; 袈裟) over a robe. He is depicted seated in *padmāsana* (J: *kekka fuza*) or *lalitāsana* (J: *hanka fumisage*) or most often standing. In early representations of the first half of the

²⁵ For a more detailed discussion of the origin of Jizō in India, see Matsushima Ken, *Jizō bosatsu zō*, Nihon no bijutsu, no. 239 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1986), p. 17.

²⁶ For the transmission of Jizō worship to China, see Matsushima, *Jizō bosatsu zō*, pp. 17-18.

²⁷ For the introduction of Jizō worship to Japan, see Matsushima, *Jizō bosatsu zō*, pp. 18-20.

Heian period, he holds the wish-granting jewel (J: *nyoi hōju*) in his left hand and performs the gesture of wish-granting (Sk: *varada mudrā*; J: *yogan-in*) with his right hand. In later representations, he holds the *nyoi hōju* in his left hand and the monk's staff (J: *shakujō*; 錫杖) with six rings in his right hand, symbolizing Jizō's role as the guide through the Six Realms of Reincarnation (J: *rokudō*).

The earliest surviving sculptures of Jizō in Japan date from the mid-9th century and sculptures of Jizō continued to be popularly made throughout the Heian and Kamakura periods.²⁸ However, only two extant examples of *danzō* representing Jizō remain—one at the Shōrei-in of Hōryū-ji in Nara dating to the last quarter of the 9th century (pl. 51) and the other at Hannya-ji in Nara dating to the first quarter of the 13th century (pl. 52). Textual references to *danzō* representing Jizō are extremely scarce, apart from the records referring to the Shōrei-in Jizō (pl. 51). The remaining two sculptures and references provide evidence, that *danzō* of Jizō Bosatsu were made during the Heian and Kamakura periods, although the scarcity of the material suggests, that they were not made very frequently.

The Jizō Bosatsu at Hōryū-ji, Nara

The standing Jizō Bosatsu kept at the Shōrei-in of Hōryū-ji in Nara (pl. 51) is the oldest surviving *danzō* representing Jizō Bosatsu. According to the *Kokon ichiyōshū* (古今一陽集) of the Edo period, this sculpture was first kept in the Tachibana-dera, but due to the decline of this temple was transferred to the Hōryū-ji during the Shōryaku

²⁸ For a discussion of the earliest Jizō images of the early Heian period, see Matsushima, *Jizō bosatsu zō*, pp. 21-45.

period (1077-80), where it was first enshrined in the Kondō and later in its present location, the Shōrei-in.²⁹ The sculpture was carved from one piece of *kaya* including the *renniku* in *ichiboku zukuri* (the finger-tips of both hands are later replacements). It measures 76.7 cm in height and the entire surface was left unpainted apart from the following colour highlights: indigo blue on hair, black ink on eyebrows, eyes and beard and red on lips.

Jizō Bosatsu is depicted as a monk with shaven head. He stands in a full frontal pose with both feet firmly planted on the lotus pedestal, his lowered right hand held in the gesture of wish-granting (Sk: *varada mudra*; J: *yogan-in*) and his extended left hand must have originally held the wish-granting jewel (Sk: *cintāmani*; J: *nyoi-hōju*), most probably attached to a wire.³⁰ The combination of the right hand performing the *yogan-in* and the left hand holding the *nyoi hōju* is the common *mudrā* in representations of Jizō of the early Heian period.

Jizō wears a monk's robe with a highly complex array of drapery folds. The folds are deeply carved with high round ridges and are arranged in an uneven rhythm, which lends tension and movement to the sculpture. Both sides of the robe show a skilfully carved and arranged pattern of unevenly spaced U-shaped folds, adding to the sense of movement. The carving of the drapery folds with their high ridges, subtle movement and irregular arrangement is highly ornamental in character and can be seen as an excellent way on the part of the sculptor to create a splendid adornment in the sense of *shōgon* for an image that due to its iconographic restriction was required to be unadorned. The sense of weight

²⁹ Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Danzō*, p. 139.

³⁰ For the mid-9th century sculpture of Jizō Bosatsu in the Kondō of Hōryū-ji showing exactly the same hand gesture and holding the wish-granting jewel attached to a wire, see Mizuno, et al., eds., *Mikkyō jūin to butsuzō*, b/w pl. 50.

and volume of the robe adds to the voluminous expression of the tight volume of the body. The exposed chest is smoothly carved expressing tight volume.

The head is ovoid tapering towards the chin and the facial features are delicately carved with an exceptional smoothness. The eyes are thin, half-closed slits, the eyebrows long, gently arching—although the most distinctive features of the face are the prominently carved, baggy lower eyelids and the fleshy upper lip in the shape of twin peaks. A *byakugō* is separately inserted and the facial expression of this sculpture is mysterious due to the half-closed eyes with their baggy lower eyelids.

Stylistically, the arrangement of the drapery folds is very similar to the Jizō Bosatsu in the Kondō of Hōryū-ji dated to the mid-9th century, although the narrower shoulder and less voluminous body of the Shōrei-in Jizō, suggest a later date.³¹

However, the distinct carving of the drapery folds with their prominent, smooth ridges as well as the prominently carved, baggy lower eyelids and the distinctive upper lip in the shape of twin peaks are similar to those of the Shishikutsu-ji Yakushi dated to the late 9th to early 10th century and therefore, a date in the last quarter of the 9th century for the Shōrei-in Jizō seems most probable.³²

This Jizō is a remarkable masterpiece of *danzō* showing an exceptional level of craftsmanship, smoothness of surface finishing and expression of *shōgon* in the complex and elaborate arrangement of drapery folds. It was most probably these characteristics of *danzō*, that, despite being made out of *kaya*, led to the recording of this sculpture in documents such as the *Kondō nikki* (金堂日記), the *Taishiden shiki* (太子伝私記) and the *Hōryū-ji engi shirabyōshi* (法隆寺縁起白拍子) as “*byakudan Jizō Bosatsu*.”³³

³¹ For an illustration of the Jizō Bosatsu in the Hōryū-ji Kondō, see Mizuno, et al., eds., *Mikkyō jūin to butsuzō*, b/w pl. 50.

³² For the Shishikutsu-ji Yakushi, see Mizuno, et al., eds., *Mikkyō jūin to butsuzō*, pl. 102.

The Jizō Bosatsu at Hannya-ji, Nara

The standing Jizō Bosatsu (pl. 52) is a *tainai butsu*, which was found together with another small *danzō* of Dainichi Nyorai (pl. 31) inside a sculpture of a Nyorai, which in turn was deposited together with a bronze Jūichimen Kannon, two bronze *gorintō* and four rock crystal *gorintō*—all dating from the Kamakura period—inside the thirteen-storey stone pagoda at Hannya-ji in Nara.³⁴ The sculpture was carved from one piece of an unidentified hardwood of strong, natural reddish colour, which must have been chosen for its strong resemblance to red sandalwood. The sculpture measures only 9.8 cm in height and apart from the magnificent application of *kirikane* on the robe, the following sparse colour highlights are applied: white colour to the shaven head and eyes, black to the pupils and eyebrows and red to the lips.

Jizō Bosatsu is represented as a monk with shaven head holding a bronze monk's staff (J: *shakujō*) in his right hand and a wish-granting jewel (J: *nyoi hōju*) in his left hand. These two attributes are most commonly found in representations of Jizō of the Fujiwara and particularly, the Kamakura periods. Jizō Bosatsu wears an elaborate three-piece monk's robe, which is skilfully draped over both forearms creating a realistic sense of volume of the fabric—typical of the sculptural style of the Kamakura period. The circular drapery folds of the robe, which fall in an even rhythm, are softly and sensitively modelled pointing to a date in the early part of the Kamakura period. Furthermore, the sharp angles created by the edges of the robe along the sides of the body express the realism of the Kamakura sculptural style and attest to the excellent craftsmanship of the

³³ Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Danzō*, p. 139.

³⁴ Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Danzō*, p. 198; for an illustration of the votive offerings found inside the thirteen-storey stone pagoda at Hannya-ji, see Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Busshari to Hōju*, pl. 104.

sculptor in creating this effect on a sculpture of such miniscule size. The excellent miniature carving skill of the sculptor can be further seen in the detailed depiction of the fingernails on the left hand.

The head of the sculpture is ovoid in shape and the delicately carved facial features give the sculpture a mysterious, exotic expression. The facial features, ovoid head, soft realistic treatment of drapery folds and sharp angles on the edge of the robe are stylistically similar to the Jizō Bosatsu, made by Kaikai (快慶; fl. 1183-1232) around 1202 in the Burke collection in New York and thus, points to a date in the first quarter of the 13th century.³⁵ Adding to the exquisite carving of the sculpture, *shōgon* is sumptuously expressed in the elaborate *kirikane* on the robe consisting of various combinations of lozenge patterns further enhancing the splendid and sumptuous appearance of this sculpture. This small exquisite image expresses the concept of *danzō* through its small size, reddish wood resembling red sandalwood, intricate carving and expression of *shōgon* in the sumptuous *kirikane* pattern. Furthermore, its function as a *tainai butsu* illustrates the special sacredness and efficacy ascribed to *danzō* during the Kamakura period.

³⁵ Miyeko Murase, *Bridge of Dreams: The Mary Griggs Burke Collection of Japanese Art* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000), pp. 70-73, pl. 21.

4. Bonten and Taishakuten

Bonten (梵天; Sk: Brahmā Deva) and Taishakuten (帝釈天; Sk: Sakra Devānām Indra) were originally gods (Sk: Deva; J: Ten) of Brahmanism and Hinduism, who were incorporated into the Buddhist pantheon in India as guardians of the Buddhist faith. In ancient India, Brahmā was worshipped as the creator of the universe personifying the essence of all things. Indra was the god of thunder and rain, who was incorporated into Buddhism at an early stage.³⁶ In Japan, Bonten and Taishakuten were often paired and worshipped as guardians of the Buddhist Law in their function as part of the Twelve Guardian Deities (J: Jūniten; 十二天).

Iconographically, Bonten is depicted standing clad in a wide-sleeved Chinese robe, occasionally wearing armour underneath, and shoes. His hair is piled up high to a chignon. He varyingly holds a fly whisk, a scroll, a handled censer or a mirror. In esoteric Buddhism he is depicted seated with three heads and four arms riding on three geese. Taishakuten is depicted standing, clad in a wide-sleeved Chinese robe and armour with his hair piled up high to a chignon. He holds a single pronged *vajra* (J: *tokko-sho*). In esoteric Buddhism, he is seated in *lalitāsana* (J: *hanka fumisage*) riding on a white elephant.³⁷

The earliest sculptural representations of Bonten and Taishakuten in Japan date from the 8th century and continued to be popularly made throughout the Heian and Kamakura periods.³⁸ One special iconographic form is known as Futama Kannon, which is a triad

³⁶ For a more detailed account of the origin of Brahma and Indra in India and their incorporation into the Buddhist pantheon, see Sekine, *Bonten, Taishakuten zō*, pp. 17-24.

³⁷ For a detailed discussion of the iconography of Bonten and Taishakuten, see Sekine, *Bonten, Taishakuten zō*, pp. 25-34.

³⁸ The earliest sculptural representations of Bonten and Taishakuten are those at Hōryūji, Nara; Tōdai-ji Hōkke-dō; and Tōshōdai-ji Kondō, Nara; see Sekine, *Bonten, Taishakuten zō*, pp. 35-41, pls. 2-5, 8-9.

consisting of Shō Kannon flanked by Bonten and Taishakuten. The iconography of this triad, which was originally a five-figure configuration including Nyoirin and Jūichimen Kannon, came into existence at the request of Kūkai in 823, who asked for it to be used as the *honzon* in the Kannon ceremony (J: *Kannongu*; 観音供), which was conducted in the Jijūden of the Imperial Palace by Tō-ji Chōja on the eighteenth day of each month. This configuration was called Futama Kannon, since it was either placed in the next room to the residential quarters of the emperor or there were two prayer rooms (J: *butsuma*) in the Jijūden of the imperial palace, where it was enshrined.³⁹ Textual references suggest that from at least the 11th century Futama Kannon triads were made out of sandalwood as *danzō*, such as the earliest reference in the *Kakuzenshō* regarding an inventory of the contents of the Jijūden on the nineteenth day of the tenth month in Chōryaku 4 (1041), which states “one *byakudan* Shō Kannon 7 *sun*, Bonten and Taishakuten 6 *sun*.”⁴⁰

Therefore, both textual sources and the surviving examples of *danzō* representing Bonten and Taishakuten dating from the Kamakura period (pl. 48) illustrate, that *danzō* of Bonten and Taishakuten were made as part of the Futama Kannon triad from the 11th to the 13th century and functioned as personal devotional icons (J: *nenji butsu*) for members of the imperial family and even the emperor himself.

The Bonten and Taishakuten at Tō-ji, Kyoto

The standing Bonten and Taishakuten (pl. 48) at Tō-ji in Kyoto represent the two attendant figures to Shō Kannon, making up a triad known as Futama Kannon—a group of images used in the Kannon rite (J: *Kannongu*) at the palace on the eighteenth day of

³⁹ For the history of the Futama Kannon, see Sekine, *Bonten, Taishakuten zō*, p. 71.

⁴⁰ *Kakuzenshō*, 3, in Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho, pp. 928-29.

each month and for the personal worship by members of the imperial household at the palace.⁴¹

Bonten and Taishakuten are carved out of one piece of sandalwood in *ichiboku zukuri* apart from the fingertips and the free-hanging parts of *tenne*, which were separately made and attached. Each sculpture measures 21.7 cm. in height. The surface of the sculptures was left unpainted in order to reveal the beautiful grain and natural reddish-brown colour of the sandalwood and only the following colour highlights were added: indigo blue to hair, black ink to eyebrows, eyes and beard and red colour to lips.

Bonten stands with his left knee slightly bent and the weight shifted towards the right leaning slightly towards the central figure of Shō Kannon, whilst Taishakuten in perfect symmetry stands with his right knee slightly flexed and the hip thrust towards the left leaning towards the central figure of Shō Kannon. Bonten holds his attribute, an elaborate fly whisk which is made out of gilt bronze, in his right hand and his left hand is clenched to a fist close to his body. Taishakuten holds his attribute, the single-pronged vajra (J: *tokko-sho*), in his left hand and holds his right hand in front of the chest.

Both wear almost identical Chinese style robes with the distinctive upper garment (J: *gaitōe*) characterised by the elaborate, scalloped collar and sleeves, which reflect the strong Song dynasty influence on Kamakura sculpture.⁴² The *gaitōe* is fastened with a sash around the hips and falls in an elaborate array of realistically depicted and sharply carved pleats to just above the knees. The heavy sleeves show a delicate sense of movement and a concern with the realistic rendering of mass and volume of the fabric,

⁴¹ For a discussion of the development of the Futama Kannon and its function, see Sekine, *Bonten, Taishakuten zō*, pp. 71-72.

⁴² For comparison see the Monju Bosatsu in the *dangan* of Henmyō-in (pl. 18), which also wears a *gaitōe* and shows the strong Song dynasty influence on the sculptural style of the Kamakura period.

typical of the style of the Kamakura period. The *jōhaku*, which is elegantly draped across the upper body with its sharply carved angles and complex twists, pleats and overlaps further illustrates the concern with the realistic depiction of mass, volume and texture of the fabric. The sense of realistic movement is further expressed in the *tenne* fluttering from both shoulders and falling onto the lotus pedestals in complex twists and curves demonstrating the highest level of carving skill. The hemline of the robes ends in a series of elegant wave-like curves, conveying a strong sense of movement and framing the elaborately carved and distinctively different shoes of Bonten and Taishakuten. The composition and execution of the robes and scarves on both sculptures—down to the smallest details like the knots of the sashes—are a technical tour de force, which could only be achieved by a master sculptor.

The hair of both Bonten and Taishakuten is piled up to a high chignon and the locks of hair framing the face are finely incised with individual strands. The faces are round with tight cheeks and an extremely smooth surface texture. The delicately carved facial features with their half-closed eyes, gently arched eyebrows, prominent nose and small mouth with pursed lips as well as the facial shape are stylistically very similar to those of the Jūichimen Kannon of the Roku Kannon at the Daihōon-ji in Kyoto carved by Jōkei, Bettō of Higo, in 1224.⁴³ This together with the similarity in terms of body proportion and style of robes, particularly the sleeves, to the Byakukō-shin of Kōzan-ji in Kyoto made by Tankei in 1225,⁴⁴ suggests a date in the middle of the first half of the 13th century for these two sculptures.

The style of the sumptuous *kirikane* on the robes of both sculptures is also in line with

⁴³ Mizuno, et al., eds., *Unkei to Kaikei*, b/w pl. 75.

⁴⁴ Mizuno, et al., eds., *Unkei to Kaikei*, b/w pl. 141.

this dating. It is a most splendid and complex composition of geometric and organic patterns including roundels with lotus flowers, which expresses the sumptuousness of *shōgon*. However, the patterns are rather rigid and stylised lacking the fluidity and subtlety of *kirikane* patterns of the Fujiwara period (pls. 27, 28, 44) clearly showing the style of the first half of the 13th century.

Shōgon is also sumptuously expressed in the intricate crowns, haloes and lotus pedestals. The elaborate gilt bronze crowns worn by both deities are carved in relief with delicate *karakusa* patterns and are further embellished with ribbons, which fall onto the shoulders. The pointed gilt bronze haloes are cut in openwork with intricate and sumptuous *karakusa* patterns showing an astonishing level of craftsmanship. The lotus pedestals are carved from wood and decorated with rows of upward and downward pointing lotus leaves, delicately carved—even depicting the veins of the leaves—and painted with green and red colour. The octagonal bases (J: *kamachi*) are made out of bronze and decorated with floral medallions.

Since both sculptures were made out of sandalwood and show the highest level of craftsmanship—the most sumptuous expression of *shōgon* in the *kirikane* patterns, crowns, haloes and lotus pedestals—they could only have been made by a master sculptor working for the imperial palace, which reflects their function as *nenji butsu* for members of the imperial family, attesting to the fact that the highest quality of *danzō* continued to be made and commissioned as special personal devotional icons during the Kamakura period.

5. Aizen Myōō

Aizen Myōō (愛染明王; Sk: Rāga-rāja), is the King of lust and worldly passions, who is believed to transform lust and carnal desires into pure, spiritual love aspiring to enlightenment in the sense of “the carnal desires being equal to enlightenment” (J: *bonnō soku bodai*; 煩惱即菩提). The main sūtra related to Aizen Myōō is the *Yoga Sūtra* (J: *Yugi-kyō*), which was either translated or compiled in China in the 8th century.⁴⁵

However, no Chinese sculptural or pictorial representation of Aizen has survived and Aizen was introduced to Japan by Kūkai, who according to the *Goshōrai mokuroku* had a copy of the *Yugi-kyō* amongst the many sūtra scrolls on his return from China in 806.⁴⁶ The earliest extant sculpture of Aizen in Japan dates from the 12th century and Aizen was popularly depicted throughout the Kamakura period.⁴⁷

Iconographically, Aizen is shown seated in *kekka fuza* on a lotus throne supported by a sacred vase (J: *hōhei*; 宝瓶), which is filled with wish-granting jewels (J: *nyoi hōju*), symbolising Aizen’s power to grant wishes. He is depicted red-bodied, “coloured with love” as his name implies, with a fierce facial expression—three-eyed, widely-open mouth with protruding fangs—his hair wildly standing up and wearing a crown in the shape of a lion’s head topped by one end of a five-pronged *vajra* (J: *kongōsho*). He is six-armed, but occasionally four-armed, with the principal pair of hands holding a five-pronged *vajra* (J: *kongōsho*) and *vajra* bell (J: *kongōrei*), symbolising the unity of seemingly opposites achieved by Aizen and with another pair of hands holding a bow and

⁴⁵ For various theories regarding the origin of the *Yoga Sūtra*, see Goepper, *Aizen Myōō*, p. 87.

⁴⁶ Goepper, *Aizen Myōō*, pp. 87-89.

⁴⁷ For the earliest sculpture of Aizen at Ninna-ji in Kyoto and the development of Aizen sculptures of the Fujiwara and Kamakura periods, see Nedachi Kensuke, *Aizen Myōō zō*, Nihon no bijutsu, no. 376 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1997), pl. 53 and pp. 32-58.

arrow, signifying the swiftness of his action. He holds a lotus flower in one hand and another one is clenched to a fist containing “it,” which has been variously interpreted, but most commonly as the wish, with which the worshipper approaches Aizen.⁴⁸ Aizen is said to have derived from Kongō Satta (Sk: Vajrasattva) indicated by his attributes the *vajra* and *vajra* bell.

The *Yugi-kyō* stipulates that images of Aizen of five-finger-widths (J: *goshiryōzō*) in height should be made out of sandalwood (*byakudan*).⁴⁹ Two extant examples of such images dating from the 14th century (pls. 53, 54) and a number of textual references indicate that *danzō* representing Aizen Myōō were frequently made during the 11th to 14th centuries for special ceremonies for members of the imperial family and as personal devotional icons (J: *nenji butsu*) (pl. 53).⁵⁰ The earliest of these references is an entry in the *Hyakurenshō* (百鍊抄) and the *Fusō ryakki* (扶桑略記) on the first day of the tenth month of Eiho 3 (1083), which refers to the sculptures commissioned by cloistered Emperor Shirakawa for Hosshō-ji, stating that on the occasion of the opening ceremony of Hosshō-ji a *byakudan* Aizen Myōō of three *shaku* in height made by Chōsei and Ensei was placed in the Hakkaku-dō.⁵¹ Another entry in the *Gyokuyō* (玉葉) on the twenty-third day of the seventh month of Kenkyū 5 (1194) records that an *Aizenōhō* was conducted at the *Chūgū Gosho* (empress palace quarter) on the second day of the eighth month with a *byakudan* Aizenō of three *sun* in height, which had been started to be made on the twenty-third day of the seventh month and had been finished on the second day of the eighth month.⁵²

⁴⁸ For a more detailed discussion of the symbolic meaning of the various attributes of Aizen, see Goepper, *Aizen Myōō*, pp. 114-19.

⁴⁹ For an English translation of this passage, see Goepper, *Aizen Myōō*, p. 15.

⁵⁰ For a list of five textual references, see Suzuki, “Hakubokuzō,” p. 32, footnote 13.

⁵¹ Mukasa, “Inseiki no zōbutsu to Birei no butsu,” list of records, p. (2).

These references indicate the popularity of *danzō* of Aizen Myōō for special ceremonies such as the *Nyohō Aizenōhō* and as personal devotional icons amongst members of the imperial family and high ranking aristocrats of the Fujiwara and Kamakura periods⁵³ and the exquisite craftsmanship of the surviving examples (pls. 53, 54) reflects the status of these patrons.⁵⁴

The Aizen Myōō at Kanshin-ji, Osaka

The seated Aizen Myōō at Kanshin-ji (観心寺) in Osaka (pl. 53) is thought to be the very sculpture recorded in the *Go Murakami tennō rinji* (後村上天皇綸旨) and *Tō-ji chōja gokyōsho* (東寺長者御教書) in an entry on the eighteenth day of the first month of Shōkei 15 (1360), which states that the *honzon* of Aizen Myōō enshrined in the imperial palace was moved to Kanshin-ji and *Jōnichigyōho* (長日行法) was performed by imperial order with the request to perform it regularly.⁵⁵ Therefore, this sculpture can be presumed to have been the personal devotional icon (J: *nenji butsu*) of Emperor Go Murakami (r. 1339-1368) and judging from the sublime craftsmanship of this sculpture this connection is possible, since it could only have been made by a master sculptor working for the highest ranking patrons such as members of the imperial family.

The sculpture measures only 6.2 cm in height and is an image of five-finger widths (J: *goshiryōzō*) carved from one piece of sandalwood including the mandorla and multi-

⁵² *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 4/4, p. 622.

⁵³ For the historical development of Aizen worship during the Heian and Kamakura periods, see Goepper, *Aizen Myōō*, pp. 87-101; and Nedachi, *Aizen Myōō zō*, pp. 26-30.

⁵⁴ Intricately carved *danzō* of Aizen Myōō continued to be made after the Kamakura period as evidenced by the 15th century example in the Powers collection, see John Rosenfield and Shimada Shūjiro, *Traditions of Japanese Art: Selections from the Kimiko and John Powers Collection* (Cambridge, Mass.: Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, 1970), p. 138, pl. 56.

⁵⁵ Mae Toshio and Nagashima Gyōzen, *Koji junrei: Saikoku 2, Kanshin-ji* (Kyoto, 1981), p. 136, pl. 45.

layered throne and thus follows exactly the stipulations for *goshiryōzō* of Aizen Myōō as set out in the *Yugi-kyō*.⁵⁶ The vajra head on the crown, attributes of the hands and wheel on belly were made from separate materials and are attached. The lacquered tabernacle (J: *zushi*) in which the image has been transmitted appears to be the original one.

Aizen Myōō, the esoteric King of lust and physical desires, who has the ability to transform those desires into the pure, enlightened Buddha mind, is shown seated in the lotus position (Sk: *padmāsana*; J: *kekka fuza*). He is six-armed with the first pair of hands holding the *vajra* (J: *kongōsho*) and *vajra* bell (J: *kongōrei*), symbolising the unity of seemingly opposites; the second pair of hands holding the bow (the hand a later replacement) and arrow, representing the swiftness of his action; and a third pair of hands holding a lotus flower and an empty fist (arm and hand making the empty fist later replacements), which holds the wish of the worshipper with which he addresses Aizen. His body proportions are squat and stocky, emphasizing broadness and together with the fleshy modelling of the body shows the stylistic characteristics of the late Kamakura period.

Aizen Myōō wears a *mo* with deeply carved, irregularly arranged drapery folds expressing realism and movement characteristic of the Kamakura period. These stylistic characteristics are further expressed in the hair, which is wildly standing up, the twisted eyebrows, the fiercely opened mouth with fangs sticking out and the inserted rock crystal eyes (J: *gyokugan*; 玉眼)—another stylistic feature of the Kamakura period.

Aizen is three-eyed and wears a crown in the shape of a lion's head with fiercely opened mouth, which is crowned by one end of a *vajra*. The intricacy and expressiveness of

⁵⁶ For an English translation of the passage in the *Yugi-kyō* stipulating the making of *goshiryōzō* of Aizen out of *byakudan*, see Goepper, *Aizen Myōō*, p. 15.

carving of Aizen's face and the face of the lion head are superb and are given further visual emphasis through carefully applied colour highlights: white to the teeth and red to the lips, black to the eyebrows and hair, *kirikane* on Aizen's hair. These colours together with the *kirikane* on the wheel of Aizen's belly and the red colour on the mandorla, which symbolizes Aizen's inner state of "being coloured with love," are the only colours applied to the sculpture in order to reveal the beautiful dense grain and warm natural colour of the sandalwood.

Aizen is most lavishly adorned with an elaborate necklace with floral medallions, jewelry chains, a pendant in the shape of a wheel, arm- and brace-lets that show the excellent miniature carving skill of the sculptor. The exceptional quality of carving can also be seen on the mandorla, which is of double-disc shape and intricately decorated with lotus petals, floral scrolls and pearl-strings surrounded by flames. Stylised flames with a strong expression of movement decorate the space surrounding the double-disc shaped mandorla.

Apart from the sumptuous adornment (J: *shōgon*) of the jewelry and mandorla, the most exquisite expression of *shōgon* can be seen in the elaborate lotus throne, which was made out of the same piece of sandalwood in two parts—above and below the *shikinasu*. The upper part (J: *rengebu*) is lavishly decorated with six layers of upward pointing lotus petals, each intricately carved with veins and three flaming, wish-granting jewels (J: *nyoi hōju*). Below the *rengebu*, the ribbons attached to the *shikinasu* indicate the vase filled with wish-granting jewels, which together with the group of three wish-granting jewels on each lotus leaf symbolize Aizen's power to grant unusual wishes, particularly related to romantic relationships, for which the *Jewel of the Aizen Myōō Rite* (J: *Nyohō*

Aizenōhō) was performed.⁵⁷ The lower part of the lotus throne consists of four layers, three of which are decorated on the outside with symmetrically arranged decorative panels, whilst one layer consists of intricately carved lotus leaves, which are rather stylised in execution, pointing to a date in the late Kamakura period.

In terms of the squat, stocky body proportions, facial features, realistic depiction of wavy drapery on *mo* and the stylised flames on the mandorla, this sculpture is stylistically closely related to the bronze *goshiryōzō* Aizen Myōō at Shōmyō-ji (称名寺) in Yokohama, which is dated to 1297.⁵⁸ It is also similar in terms of facial features and style of drapery to the Aizen Myōō at Daigaku-ji (大覚寺) in Kyoto dated 1326,⁵⁹ which suggests a date in the late Kamakura period during the first half of the 14th century. This Aizen Myōō is a masterpiece of *danzō* showing the highest level of miniature carving skill and the most sublime sumptuousness of *shōgon* making its association as a personal worship icon for Emperor Go Murakami most likely and thus demonstrating the special sacredness and efficacy ascribed to *danzō goshiryōzō* of Aizen Myōō by high ranking members of the imperial household and the aristocracy during the Kamakura period.

The Aizen Myōō in a Private Collection, Japan

The seated Aizen Myōō in a private collection in Japan (pl. 54) is another *goshiryō* image carved from one piece of sandalwood including the mandorla and throne,

⁵⁷ For a detailed discussion of the *Nyohō Aizenōhō* and its historical development, see Goepper, *Aizen Myōō*, pp. 144-51.

⁵⁸ See Washizuka Hiromitsu and Roger Goepper. *Enlightenment Embodied: The Art of the Japanese Buddhist Sculptor (7th–14th Centuries)* (New York: Japan Society Inc. 1997), pp. 136-37, pl. 28.

⁵⁹ Nedachi Kensuke, *Aizen Myōō zō*, Nihon no bijutsu, no. 376 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1997), p. 48, pl. 79.

measuring 11.1 cm in height. Apart from the white colour on eyes and teeth, red on lips, black on eyebrows, pupils and hair and the red on the mandorla signifying Aizen's spiritual nature as "coloured with love," the sculpture is left unpainted showing the beautiful dense grain of the sandalwood.

Aizen Myōō is six-armed and seated in *kekka fuza* on a lotus pedestal holding the following attributes in his hands: in the first pair of hands the *vajra* and *vajra* bell, in the second pair of hands rather unusually another *vajra* bell, although the much darker colour and clumsy carving of the fingers suggest that this might be a later replacement; the other hand must have held the bow (now lost); the third pair of hands would have held the lotus flower (now lost); and the empty fist, which holds the wish of the worshipper. Aizen's squat, fleshy body, which emphasizes broadness, is clad in a *mo* and *jōhaku* draped across the upper body. The carving of the irregularly arranged drapery folds is rather schematic lacking the depth and vigour of expression of that of the Kanshin-ji Aizen Myōō (pl. 53).

The broad face with its bulging eyes, twisted eyebrows, fiercely opened mouth with fangs and third eye, is expressively carved showing Aizen's wrathful expression. This fierce expression is further enhanced by Aizen's wildly standing up hair and the ferocious expression of the lion head, which crowns Aizen. He is sumptuously adorned in the sense of *shōgon* with finely carved strings of jewelry, arm- and brace-lets. *Shōgon* is further expressed in the mandorla, which is of double-disc shape decorated with intricate *karakusa* scrolls carved in relief. The elaborately decorated lotus throne is a technical tour de force and consists of three layers of upward pointing lotus petals, each decorated with three flaming jewels (J: *nyoi hōju*), the vase containing flaming jewels, a lotus leaf

and a band of intricately carved downward pointing lotus leaves (the bronze base is a later replacement).

Stylistically, the stockier body proportions, greater fleshiness of volume and more schematic rendering of the drapery than those on the Kanshin-ji Aizen Myōō (pl. 53) suggest a later date for this Aizen and the close similarities in terms of body proportions, rendering of drapery and facial features to another Aizen Myōō at Kanshin-ji dated 1378, suggest a date in the second half of the 14th century.⁶⁰ This Aizen has survived in a beautiful lacquered *zushi* decorated in *makie* with a Wish-granting Jewel Mandala (J: *Mani hōju mandara*; 摩尼宝珠曼荼羅) on the exterior and the *Aizen shuji mandara* (愛染種子曼荼羅), Shōtoku Taishi and Kūkai on the interior. The placement of this *danzō goshiryōzō* of Aizen Myōō in a box decorated with this iconography suggests that this image was used in the *Jewel of the Aizen Myōō Rite* (J: *Nyohō Aizenōhō*)—a ritual conducted since the late Heian period in order to influence romantic relationships and easy delivery in child birth—regarded as particularly secret by the Ono sect.⁶¹

⁶⁰ For the Kanshin-ji Aizen Myōō, see Mae and Nagashima, *Koji junrei: Saikoku 2, Kanshin-ji*, pp. 120-21, pl. 22.

⁶¹ For a detailed discussion of the origin and development of this ritual, see Goepper, *Aizen Myōō*, pp. 144-51.

6. Bishamonten

Bishamonten (毘沙門天; Sk: Vaiśravaṇa), originally the god of wealth (Sk: Kubera) in ancient India, was assimilated into the Buddhist pantheon.⁶² In Japan, Bishamonten was worshipped as an independent deity associated with wealth, good fortune and victory. He was also revered as Tamonten—the guardian of the north as part of the Four Heavenly Kings (J: Shitennō) and as one of the Twelve Devas (J: Jūniten). The *Sūtra of the Golden Light* (J: *Konkōmyō-kyō*; 金光明經) expounds the function and iconography of Tamonten as part of the Shitennō in great detail.⁶³ Iconographically, Bishamonten is depicted in Chinese style armour with a fearful facial expression either standing on a rock or a demon. His attributes are the trident and a miniature stūpa. The earliest sculptural representation in Japan is the Tamonten at the Kondō of Hōryū-ji, datable to the mid-7th century. Sculptures of Tamonten and Bishamonten continued to be popularly made throughout the Nara, Heian and Kamakura periods.

The only two extant examples of *danzō* representing Bishamonten—the Seigan-ji sculpture dated 1011 (pl. 55) and the Kongōbu-ji sculpture of the first quarter of the 12th century (pl. 56)—together with textual references, provide evidence, that *danzō* of Bishamonten were made during the Heian period. An entry in the *Fusō ryakki* on the eighth day of the fourth month of Kanpyō 2 (890) records *byakudan* Shitennō sculptures made for the *Kanbutsu-e* at the palace by the monk Shin'e of Bonshaku-ji.⁶⁴ Another entry recorded in the *Shōyūki* (小右記) on the second day of the second month

⁶² For the origin of Bishamonten in India and his assimilation into the Buddhist pantheon, see Matsuura Masaaki, *Bishamonten zō*, *Nihon no bijutsu*, no. 315 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1992), pp. 17-24.

⁶³ For a discussion of sculptures of Tamonten based on the *Konkōmyōkyō*, see Matsuura, *Bishamonten zō*, pp. 44-52.

⁶⁴ *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 1/1, p. 382.

of Kannin 3 (1019) states that Fujiwara no Sanesuke (957-1046) commissioned Gyōen to make one Tahōtō and one *byakudan* Bishamonten of six *sun* in height.⁶⁵ These records indicate that *danzō* of Bishamonten, both as part of the Shitennō and as an independent deity, were made during the Heian period. However, the scarcity of the material suggests that Bishamonten was not very frequently made as *danzō*.

The Bishamonten at Seigan-ji, Kyoto

The standing Bishamonten at Seigan-ji (誓願寺) in Kyoto (pl. 55) is presumed to be the very sculpture recorded in the *Seigan-ji engi* (誓願寺縁起) as having been made in Kankō 8 (1011).⁶⁶ The sculpture is carved from one piece of *hinoki* in *ichiboku zukuri*, including the demon underneath the feet and measures 85.3 cm in height. The entire surface of the sculpture is left unpainted without any colour highlights.

Bishamonten stands on a demon with muscular body and expressively carved facial features—large bulging eyes, twisted eyebrows, a broad nose and fangs sticking out of his mouth. In his raised left hand, he would have originally held a small miniature stūpa, which is now lost and the right hand holds a trident. Bishamonten wears the layered Chinese style armour, carved with great precision and attention to detail and smooth surface finishing, lending the sculpture a sharp, brilliant expression. The intricacy of carving and great attention to detail are also evident in the pleats of drapery below the knees; the twisted sash around the waist with the scarf looping over both arms skilfully intertwined; the ropes knotted in the centre, which fasten the armour to the upper body; the leather straps, which fasten the armour to the chest and the scarf around the

⁶⁵ *Shōyūki*, vol. 5, p. 114.

⁶⁶ Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Danzō*, p. 179.

neck tied in an elegant knot. The excellent carving skill of the sculptor is further evident in the ferocious lion masks, on both shoulders and on the belly, biting into the twisted sash.

Bishamonten's hair is piled up to a chignon with finely incised strands of hair. He wears an elaborate crown sumptuously adorned in the sense of *shōgon* with a pearl string, flowers and *hōsōge*, showing the excellent miniature carving skill of the sculptor. On top of the crown a wish-granting jewel (Sk: *cintāmani*; J: *nyoi hōju*) on a lotus flower is depicted, which indicates that this Bishamonten was made and worshipped in his function as the god of wealth and victory.

The face with its bulging eyes, twisted eyebrows and gentle fleshiness as well as the flowers in the crown is stylistically similar to the Fudō Myōō of Dōju-in in Kyoto made by *busshi* Kōjō (康尚; fl. 991-1020) in 1006 and points to the possibility that this Bishamonten may have been made by one of the master sculptors working in the circle of Kōjō.⁶⁷ The small size, intricate carving technique and sumptuous adornment (J: *shōgon*) of the crown express the type-style of *danzō* in this sculpture, which is rendered in the delicate and subtle *wayō* (和様) style of the Fujiwara period under the influence of Kōjō. The sculpture is a most precious example, illustrating how Bishamonten was represented as *danzō* in the Fujiwara period.

⁶⁷ For the Fudō Myōō of Dōju-in, Kyoto, see Mizuno, et al., eds., *Byōdō-in to Jōchō*, pls. 37 and 38.

The Bishamonten at Kongōbu-ji, Wakayama

The Bishamonten at Kongōbu-ji in Wakayama (pl. 56) is a votive sculpture (J: *tainai butsu*) recently discovered inside a half-*jōroku* sculpture of Bishamonten, where it was positioned on the left side—the head located in the heart area of the larger statue. According to an ink inscription inside the large statue of Bishamonten, this Bishamonten together with a half-*jōroku* sculpture of Fudō Myōō were the attendants to a sculpture of Senju Kannon and were commissioned by the monk Ren'i Shōnin (蓮意上人; d. 1132), who was responsible for the rebuilding of the Senju Kannon-dō, in which these sculptures were originally enshrined.⁶⁸

This *danzō* Bishamonten is carved from one single piece of reddish sandalwood in *ichiboku zukuri* including the pedestal in the shape of a rock and measures 32.9 cm in height. Bishamonten is clad in Chinese style armour and stands firmly on a rock with his raised left hand holding his attribute, the trident, and the lowered right hand resting on his hip. In contrast to the robust body proportions of the Seigan-ji sculpture (pl. 55) with their emphasis on width and volume, Bishamonten's body proportions are slender and elegant expressing a more idealised style of the later Fujiwara period. The face with its bulging eyes, twisted eyebrows, prominent nose and clenched lips, is expressively carved. It is given further emphasis through the application of red, white and black colour to eyes, red to lips and black to eyebrows and beard as well as blue to the hair. The excellent craftsmanship of the sculptor is evident in the intricate carving of the armour—the elaborate pleats on the sleeves, the scarf intertwined with the belt, the various leather

⁶⁸ Kyoto kokuritsu hakubutsukan, et al., eds., *Kūkai to Kōya-san: Kōbō Daishi nyūitō sennihakunen kinen* (Kyoto: Kyoto kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 2003), p. 280, pl. 53.

parts held together by straps and the elaborate drapery folds of the undergarment — showing an exceptional attention to detail and smooth surface finishing. In terms of the slender, elegant body proportions, facial features and style of armour—particularly the pointed leaf-shaped leather strips on the lower part of the armour—this Bishamonten is stylistically closely related to the Shitennō sculpture at the Manpuku-ji (万福寺) in Iwate and can therefore be dated to the first quarter of the 12th century.⁶⁹

The surface of the Bishamonten is elaborately adorned with intricate *kirikane* patterns as an expression of *shōgon*. The style of these *kirikane* patterns—the band of floral scrolls on the lower part of the armour and the elaborate net-pattern with dots on the lower garment—are very similar to those on the Yakushi Nyorai of Ninna-ji (pl. 27) dating from 1103, which further substantiates a date in the first quarter of the 12th century for this sculpture.

This Bishamonten is a masterpiece of *danzō*, in which the type-style is expressed through the material of sandalwood, the small size, intricate carving and *shōgon* in the form of elaborate *kirikane* rendered in the idealised and elegant period-style of the early 12th century. Furthermore, this Bishamonten is the earliest known *danzō* used as a *tainai butsu* and illustrates the function of *danzō* as *tainai butsu* from at least the early 12th century.

⁶⁹ For an illustration of this sculpture, see Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Bukkyō bijutsu: Kōkuho, jūyō bunkazai*, vol.: Hokkaidō, Tōhoku (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1972), p. 45, pl. 9 right.

CONCLUSION

Unlike previous studies, which have attempted to define *danzō* in terms of either material or style, or a combination of the two, I have defined *danzō* as religious icons, consisting of the three elements of material, form (iconography and style) and religious function.¹

The defining characteristic in the material element was found to be the choice of sandalwood for its dense, hard-grained properties suitable for the most minute and intricate carving and its inherent medical and ascribed spiritual properties. Furthermore, sandalwood was mentioned in the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra* as a material for sculpture making and in other sūtras as a material for *shōgon*. Thus, substitute materials were chosen for their resemblance to sandalwood, particularly *kaya*, *sakura* and *hinoki*. *Kaya* was the most common substitute material for sandalwood in Japan largely due to the application of the term *haku*, which was mentioned in Huizhao's commentary as a suitable substitute material for *byakudan*, to *kaya* in Japan. Further defining characteristics in the material element of *danzō* were found to be the application of colouring in imitation of the yellowish or reddish colour of sandalwood (J: *danjiki*) as an expression of *shōgon* and the small size of the sculptures due to the natural restriction of the material which became a visual indicator for *danzō*.

¹ The research by Suzuki Yoshihiro and Inoue Tadashi has attempted to define *danzō* in terms of material. See Suzuki, "Danzō no gainen to hakuboku no igi," pp. 169-78; Suzuki, "Hakubokuzō to danzō chōkoku," pp. 15-35; Inoue, "Danjiki no igi," pp. 27-52; Inoue, "Kanbōdai-ji Jūichimen Kannon," pp. 13-40. Oka Naomi has defined *danzō* in terms of style, see Oka, "Danzō yoshiki sono shiteki hatten ni tsuite," pp. 33-70. Whilst the following works have defined *danzō* in terms of a combination of material and style: Mōri, "Heian jidai no danzō ni tsuite," pp. 134-45; Kuno, "Danzō chōkoku no tenkai," pp. 31-55; Inoue, *Danzō*; Morse, "The Formation of the Plain-Wood Style," pp. 181-242 and 299-312. For a discussion of the iconological approach, applied to *danzō* in this study, see Erwin Panofsky, "Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art," in Erwin Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (London: Penguin Books, 1993; reprint), pp. 51-81; and particularly diagram, p. 66.

In the definition of form, I have pointed out that form consists of both iconography and style. Furthermore, I have demonstrated the shortcomings of previous definitions of a *danzō* style and argued for the vital distinction between the type-style, which is constant and the period-style, which changes according to the period. Based on this distinction, I have proposed the following definition of a type-style for *danzō*, which is applicable to *danzō* of various iconographic types and period-styles:

1. Made out of sandalwood or suitable substitute materials such as *kaya*, *sakura* and occasionally *hinoki*
2. Small size and mostly single wood block construction (J: *ichiboku zukuri*)
3. Plain wood finish or *danjiki*
4. Finely carved and finished to the highest level of craftsmanship (including the use of *kirikane*) as an expression of *shōgon*

I have argued that the fine and intricate carving and smooth surface finishing to the highest level of craftsmanship is an expression of the aesthetic-religious concept of *shōgon*, which represents the essential element in the form of *danzō*. Whilst the expression of this central element of *shōgon* is constant, it varies according to iconographic types and period-styles. In the analysis of the actual examples of *dangan* and *danzō* in Chapters Three to Six, the varied expressions of *shōgon* according to iconographic types and period-styles were examined and shown to be of central significance.

Furthermore, the classification of *danzō* into iconographic types has shown that, of the total of thirty-three extant examples examined in this dissertation, the largest group of sixteen represent Kannon, of which ten are representations of Jūichimen Kannon. This shows a certain predilection towards *danzō* representing Kannon—Jūichimen Kannon in particular—due to the stipulations regarding the making of *danzō* of Jūichimen Kannon in the *Eleven-Headed Kannon Sūtra*, although representations of

other Bosatsu, Nyorai and tutelary deities demonstrate that *danzō* were not iconographically restricted to representations of Jūichimen Kannon, but also included other iconographic types.

Regarding the religious function of *danzō*, I have examined textual and material evidence, which suggest four categories of religious functions: as icons in state and personal ceremonies, as personal devotional icons (J: *nenji butsu*), as *honzon* in temple halls, and as votive offerings inside larger sculptures (J: *tainai butsu*). Whilst their function as *honzon* in temple halls appears to have been less common and their function as *tainai butsu* only appears to have lasted from the early 12th to 14th centuries, the two most common religious functions were as icons in ceremonies and for personal devotion. The functions of *danzō* and *dangan* as icons in important state and personal ceremonies and as personal devotional icons for high-ranking monks, aristocrats, members of the imperial family and even emperors and empresses reflect their preciousness and sacredness as a special category of religious images that were commissioned, venerated, and offered by only the highest-ranking patrons.

In conclusion, one can say that it is not a single element but the unity of material, form and function as defined in this dissertation, which make up the concept of *danzō* as religious icons of special sanctity and efficacy with distinctive material, formal and functional characteristics. It is these characteristics that define *danzō* as a coherent and extraordinary group of images amongst Japanese Buddhist sculpture.

I hope that this dissertation will lead to a deeper and more inclusive understanding of *danzō* as religious icons and will inspire further research regarding the influence that this unique category of images exerted on other Buddhist sculptures.

GLOSSARY OF JAPANESE AND CHINESE CHARACTERS

Aizen Myōō 愛染明王

Aizen shuji mandara 愛染種子曼荼羅

ajari 阿闍梨

Amida kekaryō shizaichō 阿弥陀悔過料資財帳

Anguosi 安国寺

Anjō-ji garan engi shizaichō 安祥寺伽藍緣起資財帳

Arorikikyō 阿嚕力經

Awaji Island 淡路島

bai 柏

Bailiangtai 柏梁台

Basusen 婆薮仙

birei 美麗

Bishamonten 毘沙門天

bonnō soku bodai 煩惱即菩提

Bonten 梵天

Buddahari 仏陀波利

Bujō-ji 峰定寺

busshi 仏師

busshin 仏身

butsudo 仏土

butsuma 仏間

Butsumyō-e 仏名会

Butsuzō mokuroku 仏像目録

byakudan 白檀

byakugō 白毫

Byakukō-shin 白光神

byakushin 柏槨

chi 尺

chie yōraku shōgon 智慧瓔珞莊嚴

chiken-in 智拳印

Chiman-ji 智満寺

Chion-in 知恩院

Chishō daishi kugen mokuroku 智証大師公驗目録

chōdan 雕檀

Chōen 長円

Chōnen 儺然

Chōreki-ji 長暦寺

Chōsei 長勢

Chōshimaru 朝子丸

Chōshūki 長秋記

chūdai hachiyōin 中台八葉院

Chūgū Gosho 中宮御所

Chūyūki 中右記

cun 寸

Da'anguosi 大安国寺

Daichidoron 大智度論

Daigo-ji 醍醐寺

Daigokuden 大極殿

Daigaku-ji 大覚寺

Daigozōjiki 醍醐雜事記

Daigo tennō 醍醐天皇

Daihizan engi 大悲山緣起

Daihonhannya-kyō 大品般若經

Daihōon-ji 大報恩寺

Daijizai-ō Bosatsu 大自在王菩薩

Dainichi-kyō 大日經

Dainichi Nyorai 大日如来

Daishi gokaden 大師御家伝

Daishi gokugen 大師御公験

Daishō Rōjin 大聖老人

Daishūkyō 大集經

Daitōsaiiki-ki 大唐西域記

daiyō danzō 代用檀像

daiza 台座

danboku 檀木

dangan 檀龕

dan-inbutsu 檀印仏

danjiki 檀色

danzō 檀像

Daoxuan 道宣

darani yōraku shōgon 陀羅尼瓔珞莊嚴

Da Tang Xiyouji 大唐西域記

Denryaku 殿曆

Dōju-in 同聚院

Dōmyō-ji 道明寺

Eigaku yōki 叡岳要記

Eiga monogatari 榮華物語

Eishō-ji 英勝寺

Eison 叡尊

Ekiman 益満

Enchin 円珍

Enchin kugen monjo mokuroku 円珍公験文書目錄

Engishiki 延喜式

Engi tenryaku gokishō 延喜天曆御記抄

Enmeihō 延命法

Ennin 円仁

Ennin nyūtō shinkyū seikyō mokuroku 円仁入唐新求聖教目錄

Enpa 円派

Enryaku-ji 延暦寺

Ensei 円勢

Enshin 円信

Entsū-ji 円通寺

Enyū tennō 円融天皇

Fayu 法遇

Fudōhō 不動法

Fudo Myōō 不動明王

Fugen Bosatsu 普賢菩薩

Fugen Enmei Bosatsu 普賢延命菩薩

Fujii-dera 葛井寺

Fujiwara no Michinaga 藤原道長

Fujiwara no Michinori 藤原通憲

Fujiwara no Moromichi 藤原師通

Fujiwara no Morozane 藤原師実

Fujiwara no Munetada 藤原宗忠

Fujiwara no Kamatari 藤原鎌足

Fujiwara no Sanesuke 藤原実資

Fujiwara no Tadazane 藤原忠実

Fumon-in 普門院

Fusō ryakki 扶桑略記

Futama Kannon 二間觀音

Fuzhou 蒲州

gaitōe 襪 襠衣

Gakkō Bosatsu 月光菩薩

Gakuan-ji 額安寺

Gangō-ji 元興寺

Ganjin 鑑真

Gankō-ji 願興寺

gasshō 合掌

Geli Guanyin 蛤蜊觀音

Genbō 玄昉

Genji monogatari 源氏物語

genze riyaku 現世利益

geshō 下生

Gihan 義範

gishi-ōtō 魏氏櫻桃

gochi nyorai 五智如來

Godai Myōō 五大明王

Godaisan 五台山

Godanhō 五壇法

Goichijō tennō 後一條天皇

gokosho 五鈷杵

Goma 護摩

Go Murakami tennō 後村上天皇

Go Murakami tennō rinji 後村上天皇綸旨

Gonijōmoromichiki 後二條師通記

Gonsōjō Kankū 權僧正寬空

Goreizei tennō 後冷泉天皇

gorin-tō 五輪塔

Gosai-e 御齋会

Goshichinichi hōji 五七日法事

goshiryōzō 五指量像

Goshōrai mokuroku 御請来目錄

goson 五尊

Gosuzaku tennō 後朱雀天皇

Gōtotokunagon ganmonshū 江都督納言願文集

Gozusan 牛頭山

gozu sendan 午頭梅檀

Guangzhaisi 光宅寺

Guharihihō 紅頗梨秘法

Guhari no Amida 紅頗梨色阿弥陀

Gumonjitokumyō 求聞持得名

Guo Xingzhen 郭行眞

gyokugan 玉眼

Gyokuyō 玉葉

Gyokuzui 玉蕊

Gyōnen 行然

Gyōrinshō 行林抄

hachiza 八座

hakuboku 柏木

hakuboku 栢木

Hanjun 範俊

hanka fumisage 半珈踏み下げ

hanka shii 半珈思惟

hanka za 半珈座

Hannya-ji 般若寺

hashiri Fudō 走り不動

henge 変化

Henmyō-in 遍明院

Hieizan Sakino Tō-in 比叡山前唐院

Higo Bettō Jōkei 肥後別当定慶

hinoki 扁柏

hinoki 檜

hisen 臂釧

Hiso-ji 比蘇寺

Hōbodai-in 宝菩提院

Hōdarakusan Sōji-ji 補陀洛山惣持寺

Hōdō Nyorai 宝幢如来

hōhatsu 宝鉢

hōhei 宝瓶

hōjin 報身

hōkan 宝冠

Hokke hakkō 法華八講

Hokke-ji 法華寺

Hōkke-kyō 法華經

hokkyō 法橋

Hokuen-dō 北円堂

Honchōseiki 本朝世紀

honji-butsu 本地仏

honpa shiki 翻波式

honzon 本尊

Hōon-ji 報恩寺

Hōryū-ji 法隆寺

Hōryū-ji engi shirabyōshi 法隆寺縁起白拍子

Hōryū-ji garan engi narabini ruki shizai-chō 法隆寺伽藍縁起代流記資財帳

Hōshaku-in 宝積院

Hōshaku-ji 宝積寺

hōsō 宝相

hōsōge karakusa 宝相華唐草

hosshin 法身

Hosshō-ji 法勝寺

Hōzō-in 宝蔵院

huang chang ti zou 黄腸題湊

Huiguo 惠果

Huizhao 慧沼

Hyakurenshō 百鍊抄

icchakushuhan 一櫟手半

ichiboku zukuri 一木造

Inkaku 院覚

Inhan 院範

Inkei 院慶

Inken 院賢

Inki 院徹

Inokuma Kanpakuki 猪隈関白記

Inpa 院派

In'un 院雲

irimoya 入母屋

Ishibe Jinja 石部神社

Issaikyō 一切經

Iwashimizu hachimangū shiryōsōsho 石清水八幡宮史料叢書

Izumokoku fudoki 出雲国風土記

Ji Gujin Fodao Lunheng 集古今佛道論衡

Jijūden 仁寿殿

Jikokuten 持国天

Jingo-ji 神護寺

Jingo-ji ryakki 神護寺略記

jinlitan 金粟檀

Jinpuku-ji 神福寺

Jizō Bosatsu 地藏菩薩

Jōchō 定朝

Jōe 定慧

Jōdo 淨土

jōgyō nenbutsu zanmai 常行念仏三昧

jōhaku 条帛

Jōhei jitsurokuchō 承平実録帳

jō-in 定印

Jōkyō-ji 常教寺

Jōnichigyōho 長日行法

Jōnichisandanhō 長日三壇法

jōroku 丈六

Jūichimen Kanzeon shinju-kyō 十一面觀世音神呪經

Jūichimen shinju gisho 十一面神呪義疏

Jūni Shinshō 十二神將

Jūniten 十二天

Jūrin-in 十輪院

Kachio-ji 勝尾寺

kaeribana 返花

Kaifukeō Nyorai 開敷華王如來

kaigen kūyo 開眼供養

Kaijūsen-ji 海住山寺

Kaikei 快慶

Kaishin 懷深

kaiyōraku shōgon 戒璽珞莊嚴

Kakuchō 覺澄

Kakuzen 覺禪鈔

Kakuzenshō 覺禪

kamachi 框

Kanbodai-ji 觀菩提寺

Kanbutsu-e 灌佛仙會

Kanjin Shōnin 勸進上人

kannon biraki 觀音開き

Kannongū 觀音供

Kanshin-ji 觀心寺

Kanshin-ji monjo 観心寺文書

karakusa 唐草

karamono 唐物

kashiwa 柏

kashiwa 栢

katsura 桂

Kawachikoku Kanshin-ji engi shizaichō 河内国歆心寺縁起資財帳

kaya 榧

kazari 飾り

keban 華盤

kebutsu 化仏

Kegon-kyō 華嚴經

Keiai-hō 敬愛法

Keiranjūyōshū 溪嵐拾葉集

Keka 悔過

kekka fuza 結跏扶座

Kengyō Sōsei 檢校宗清

Kenkyū gojunreiki 建久御巡礼記

kesa 袈裟

kindei 金泥

Kinmei tennō 欽明天皇

kinridan 金粟檀

kirikane 切金

Kita-in 北院

kiyose 木寄せ

kōdan 黄檀

Kōen 皇円

Kōfuku-ji 興福寺

Kōgen-ji 向源寺

kōgōbutsu 香合仏

kōhai 光背

Kōjō 康尚

Kōkaku 幸覚

Kokon ichiyōshū 古今一陽集

kokoromi no daibutsu 試みの大仏

Kokūzō Bosatsu 虚空蔵菩薩

Komatsu-dera 子松寺

Kondō 金堂

Kondō nikki 金堂日記

Kōngōbu-ji 金剛峯寺

Kongōchō-kyō 金剛頂經

Kongōkai 金剛界

Kongōrei 金剛鈴

Kongō-rikishi 金剛力士

Kongō Satta 金剛薩埵

kongōsho 金剛杵

Kōnin shizaichō 弘仁資財帳

konjiki 金色

Konkōmyō-kyō 金光明經

Konkōmyō Saishōō-kyō 金光明最勝王經

Konoe Iezane 近衛家実

konote-gashiwa 側柏

Kōri Kannon 蛤蜊觀音

Kōsan-ji 耕三寺

Kōshū 光宗

Kōzan-ji 高山寺

Kudokuten 功德天

kugenjō 公驗狀

Kujō Kanazane 九条兼実

Kujō Michiie 九条道家

Kūkai 空海

Kumen Kannon 九面觀音

Kuroishi-dera 黒石寺

kusu 樟

kuyō 供養

Luohan 羅漢

Luoyang quielanji 洛陽伽藍記

Lu Zhaolin 盧照鄰

makura honzon 枕本尊

Mani hōju mandara 摩尼宝珠曼荼羅

Manpuku-ji 万福寺

mappō 末法

Midōkanpakuki 御堂関白記

Midokyō 御読經

Minamoto no Morotoki 源師時

Miroku Bosatsu 弥勒菩薩

Miroku jōshō-kyō 弥勒上生經

Miroku Nyorai 弥勒如来

Misai-e 御齋会

misogi 御衣木

Mitaki Shōnin Sainen 三滝上人西念

mo 裳

mokushin kanshitsu 木心乾漆

Monju Bosatsu 文殊菩薩

Muryōju Nyorai 無量寿如来

Muryōju nyorai kuyō sahōshidai 無量寿如来供養作法次第

Myōe 明恵

Myōhōrenge-kyō 妙法蓮華經

nenjibutsu 念持仏

nenju 念珠

Nihon shoki 日本書記

nikkei 肉髻

nikkeishu 肉髻珠

Nikkō Bosatsu 日光菩薩

Ninna-ji 仁和寺

Ninna-ji kita-in kuyō ganmon 仁和寺北院供養願文

nijūhachi bushū 二十八部衆

nōnyū ganmon 納入願文

Nyohō Aizenōhō 如法愛染王法

nyoi hōju 如意宝珠

Nyoirinhō 如意輪法

Nyoirin Kannon 如意輪觀音

Nyūdō Moroaki 入道師明

ōjin 応身

Ōmuro Shōshin 大御室性信

Onjō-ji 園城寺

Ono 小野

Pōjo 普照國師

Qibaotai 七宝台

rahotsu 螺髮

reiboku 靈木

Reimei-den 靈明殿

rengebu 蓮華部

rengeza 蓮華座

Ren'i Shōnin 蓮意上人

renniku 蓮肉

Renshousi 仁寿寺

Rihōōki 李部王記

rinbō 輪宝

rinnōza 輪王座

Ritsu 律

Rōben 良弁

rokudō 六道

Roku Kannon 六觀音

Rokushō-ji 六勝寺

rukoku 鏤刻

Ryōsen-ji 靈山寺

Saidai-ji 西大寺

saishiki 彩色

saishiki shōzō 彩色小像

Saishō-e 最勝会

Saizen-in 西禪院

sakura 櫻

Sandanmishuhō 三壇御修法

sandō 三道

sangoku denrai 三国伝来

sanmai yōraku shōgon 三昧瓔珞莊嚴

sanmen biraki 三面開き

Sanmondō shaki 山門堂舎記

Sannō-in 山王院

Sanzōki ruiju 三僧記類聚

Sashizu-dō 指図堂

segan-in 施願印

Seigan-ji 誓願寺

Seigan-ji engi 誓願寺縁起

Seiryōden 清涼殿

Seiryō-ji Shaka 清涼寺釈迦

semui-in 施無畏印

sendan 梅壇

Senju Kannon 千手觀音

Senju Sengen-kyō 千手千眼經

Senshin 專心

Settsumeishozue 摂津名所図絵

Shaka Nyorai 釈迦如来

shaku 尺

shakujō 錫杖

shaku sendan 赤栴檀

Shami 沙彌

shari 舍利

Shichibutsu Yakushi 七仏薬師

Shichishichinichi hōji 七七日法事

Shigeakira shinnō 重明親王

Shihu Gong 史胡公

shikinasu 敷茄子

shiki shin 色身

shimen butsu 四面仏

shin byakudan 真白檀

shin danzō 真檀像

shinkō 神功

Shinsarugakuki 新猿樂記

Shin Yakushi-ji 新薬師寺

Shipuming 釈普明

Shirakawa tennō 白河天皇

Shiseng Che 釈僧徹

Shishiku Bosatsu 獅子吼菩薩

Shishikutsu-ji 獅子窟寺

shishu shōgon 四種莊嚴

shitakamachi 下框

shitan 紫檀

Shitennō 四天王

Shitennō-ji 四天王寺

Shiyimian Guanshiyin Shenzhou jing 十一面觀世音神呪經

Shiyimian Guanzizai Pusa Xinmiyan Yigui jing 十一面觀自在菩薩心密言儀軌經

Shiyimian Shenzhou jing 十一面神呪經

Shiyimian Shenzhou yishu 十一面神呪義疏

shizen 四禪

Shōdai senzai denki 招堤千歲伝記

shōgon 莊嚴

shōhaku 松栢

Shōji-ji 勝持寺

Shōjō-ji 勝常寺

Shō Kannon 聖觀音

Shōmyō-ji 稱名寺

Shōrei-in 聖靈院

Shōryaku-ji 正曆寺

Shōryū-ji 勝龍寺

Shoshazan Enkyō-ji kyūki 書寫山円教寺舊記

Shōtoku Taishi 聖德太子

Shōyūki 小右記

Shuhō 修法

Shūhō-ō Bosatsu 衆宝王菩薩

shuji 種子

shumiza 須弥座

Shuzen 修善

Song gaoseng chuan 宋高僧伝

Songgwangsa 松広寺

Sōkōsōden 宋高僧伝

sokuji-in 触地印

suibyō 水瓶

Suiko 推古

sun 寸

suō 蘇芳

taikin 戴金

tainai butsu 胎内仏

Taira no Kiyomori 平清盛

Taishakuten 帝釈天

Taishiden shiki 太子伝私記

Taizōkai 胎蔵界

Taizōkai mandara 胎蔵界曼荼羅

Tankei 湛慶

tengai 天蓋

tenme 天衣

Tenkuraion Nyorai 天鼓雷音如来

Tenkyū Aizen 天弓愛染

Toba tennō 鳥羽天皇

Tōdai-ji 東大寺

Tōdai-ji yōroku 東大寺要錄

Tōdaiwajō tōseiden 唐大和上東征伝

Tōhō Rurikō Jōdo 東方瑠璃光浄土

Tō-ji 東寺

Tō-ji chōja 東寺長者

Tō-ji chōja gokyōsho 東寺長者御教書

tokko-sho 独鈷杵

Tōnomine 多武峯

Tōnomine ryakki 多武峯略記

Tōshōdai-ji 唐招提寺

Tosotsuten 兜率天

uchiguri 内割り

ukeza 受座

Unkei 運慶

Uten'ō 于闐王

uwakamachi 上框

Wanarui jushō 和名類聚抄

wansen 腕釧

wayō 和樣

Weituotian 韋駄天

Wenzong 文帝

Wutaishan 五台山

Xiangle Furen 相樂夫人

Xiangle Furen Tankan Baoxiang Zan 相樂夫人檀龕宝相讚并序

Xiangtangshan 響堂山

Xingshansi 興善寺

Xuanzang 玄奘

Xu Gaoseng chuan 續高僧傳

yakko 藥壺

Yakushi Nyorai 藥師如來

Yamatohonzōhisei 大和本草批正

Yang Xuanzhi 楊紆之

yixie shouban 一櫟手半

yogan-in 与願印

Yokkahachiza hōe 四日八座法會

yōraku 瓔珞

yōraku shōgon 瓔珞莊嚴

Yōryū-ji 楊柳寺

Yoshino 吉野

Yugi-kyō 瑜祇經

Yuima Koji 維摩居士

zen 禪

Zen'en 善円

Zenzai Dōji 善財童子

zhou 肘

zhuangyan 莊嚴

Zhuangyansi 莊嚴寺

Zōchōten 增長天

Zōitsu agon-kyō 增一阿含經

zōnai nōnyūhin 像內納入品

zushi 厨子

zuzō 圖像

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- Plate 31 Dainichi Nyorai.
Kamakura period, first half of 13th century.
Hinoki, H: 5.2 cm.
Hannya-ji, Nara.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 91-1)
- Plate 32 Dainichi Nyorai.
Kamakura period, last quarter of 13th century.
Kaya, H: 11.5 cm.
Chōreki-ji, Aichi Prefecture.
(After Yamamoto Tsutomu, *Dainichi Nyorai zō*. Nihon no bijutsu, no. 374,
Tokyo: Shibundō, 1997, pl. 113)
- Plate 33 Jūichimen Kannon.
Tang dynasty, third quarter of 7th century.
Sandalwood with *danjiki*, H: 42.1 cm.
Tokyo National Museum
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 29)
- Plate 34 Kumen Kannon.
Tang dynasty, last quarter of 7th century.
Sandalwood with *danjiki*, H: 37.6 cm.
Hōryū-ji, Nara.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 28)
- Plate 35 Jūichimen Kannon.
Tang dynasty, first quarter of 8th century.
Chinese Cherry wood with *danjiki*, H: 44.7 cm.
Jimpuku-ji, Yamaguchi Prefecture.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 30)
- Plate 36 Jūichimen Kannon.
Tenpyō period, third quarter of 8th century.
Sandalwood with *kirikane*, H: 42.8 cm.
Nara National Museum.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 31)

- Plate 37 Jūichimen Kannon.
Tenpyō to Heian period, last quarter of 8th century.
Hinoki with *danjiki*, H: 50.3 cm.
Dōmyō-ji, Osaka.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 33)
- Plate 38 Jūichimen Kannon.
Heian period, first quarter of 9th century.
Kaya, H: 52 cm.
Hōshaku-in, Yamagata Prefecture.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 35)
- Plate 39 Jūichimen Kannon.
Heian period, second quarter of 9th century.
Hinoki with *kirikane*, H: 81.8 cm.
Onjō-ji, Shiga Prefecture.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 34)
- Plate 40 Jūichimen Kannon.
Heian period, late 9th to early 10th century.
Kaya, H: 45.5 cm.
Kaijūsen-ji, Kyoto.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 36)
- Plate 41 Jūichimen Kannon.
Heian period, first half of 12th century.
Kaya with *danjiki* and *kirikane*, H: 39.2 cm.
Kōgen-ji, Shiga Prefecture.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 75)
- Plate 42 Jūichimen Kannon.
Kamakura period, second quarter of 13th century.
Sakura with *danjiki*, H. of figure: 39.2 cm, H. including pedestal: 40.8 cm.
Shōryū-ji, Kyoto.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 38)

- Plate 43 Senju Kannon.
Heian period, second quarter of 9th century.
Inugaya, H: 51.2 cm.
Enryaku-ji, Shiga Prefecture.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 39)
- Plate 44 Senju Kannon.
Heian period, dated 1154.
Sandalwood with *danjiki* and *kirikane*.
H. of figure: 31.2 cm, H. including mandorla and throne: 69.1 cm.
Bujō-ji, Kyoto.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 74)
- Plate 45 Nyoirin Kannon.
Tang dynasty, second half of 8th century.
Sandalwood with *danjiki* and *kirikane*, H: 17.9 cm.
Hōryū-ji, Nara.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 40)
- Plate 46 Shō Kannon.
Sui dynasty, late 6th to early 7th century.
Sandalwood with *danjiki*, H: 74 cm.
Sakai City Museum, Osaka Prefecture.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 41)
- Plate 47 Shō Kannon.
Heian period, mid-9th century.
Kaya or *hinoki* with *danjiki*, H: 51.5 cm.
Daigo-ji, Kyoto.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 45)
- Plate 48 Shō Kannon, Bonten and Taishakuten (Futama Kannon).
Kamakura period, first half of 13th century.
Sandalwood with *kirikane*.
H. of Shō Kannon: 24.9 cm, H. of Bonten and Taishakuten: 21.7 cm.
Tō-ji, Kyoto.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 76)

- Plate 49 Miroku Bosatsu.
Kamakura period, late 12th to early 13th century.
Sandalwood, H: 7.1 cm.
Kōfuku-ji, Nara.
(After Itō Shirō, *Mirokuzō*. Nihon no bijutsu, no. 316, Tokyo: Shibundō, 1992, pl. 119)
- Plate 50 Monju Bosatsu.
Kamakura period, dated 1302.
Wood, H. of figure: 20.6 cm, H. including pedestal: 23.2 cm.
Saidai-ji, Nara.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 93)
- Plate 51 Jizō Bosatsu.
Heian period, last quarter of 9th century.
Kaya, H: 76.7 cm.
Hōryū-ji, Nara.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 62)
- Plate 52 Jizō Bosatsu.
Kamakura period, first quarter of 13th century.
Wood with *kirikane*, H: 9.8 cm.
Hannya-ji, Nara.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 91-2)
- Plate 53 Aizen Myōō.
Kamakura period, first half of 14th century.
Sandalwood, H: 6.2 cm.
Kanshin-ji, Osaka Prefecture.
(After Nedachi Kensuke, *Aizen Myōō zō*. Nihon no bijutsu, no. 376, Tokyo: Shibundō, 1997, pls. 8, 80)
- Plate 54 Aizen Myōō.
Nanbokuchō period, second half of 14th century.
Sandalwood, H: 11.1 cm.
Private Collection, Japan.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Busshari to Hōju: Shaka o shitau kokoro*. Nara: Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 2001, pl. 84)

- Plate 55 Bishamonten.
Heian period, dated 1011.
Hinoki, H: 85.3 cm.
Seigan-ji, Kyoto.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 80)
- Plate 56 Bishamonten.
Heian period, first quarter of the 12th century.
Sandalwood with *kirikane*, H: 32.9 cm.
Kongōbu-ji, Wakayama Prefecture.
(After Kyoto kokuritsu hakubutsukan, et al., eds. *Kūkai to Kōya-san: Kōbō Daishi nyūtō sennihakunen kinen*. Kyoto: Kyoto kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 2003, pl. 53)



Plate 1 Section of a Portable Shrine (Diptych) with Two Scenes from the Life of Buddha. Pakistan, Gandhara region, 5th - 6th century. Stone, H: 15.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
(After Martin Lerner and Steven Kossak, *The Lotus Transcendent*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1991, pl. 79)

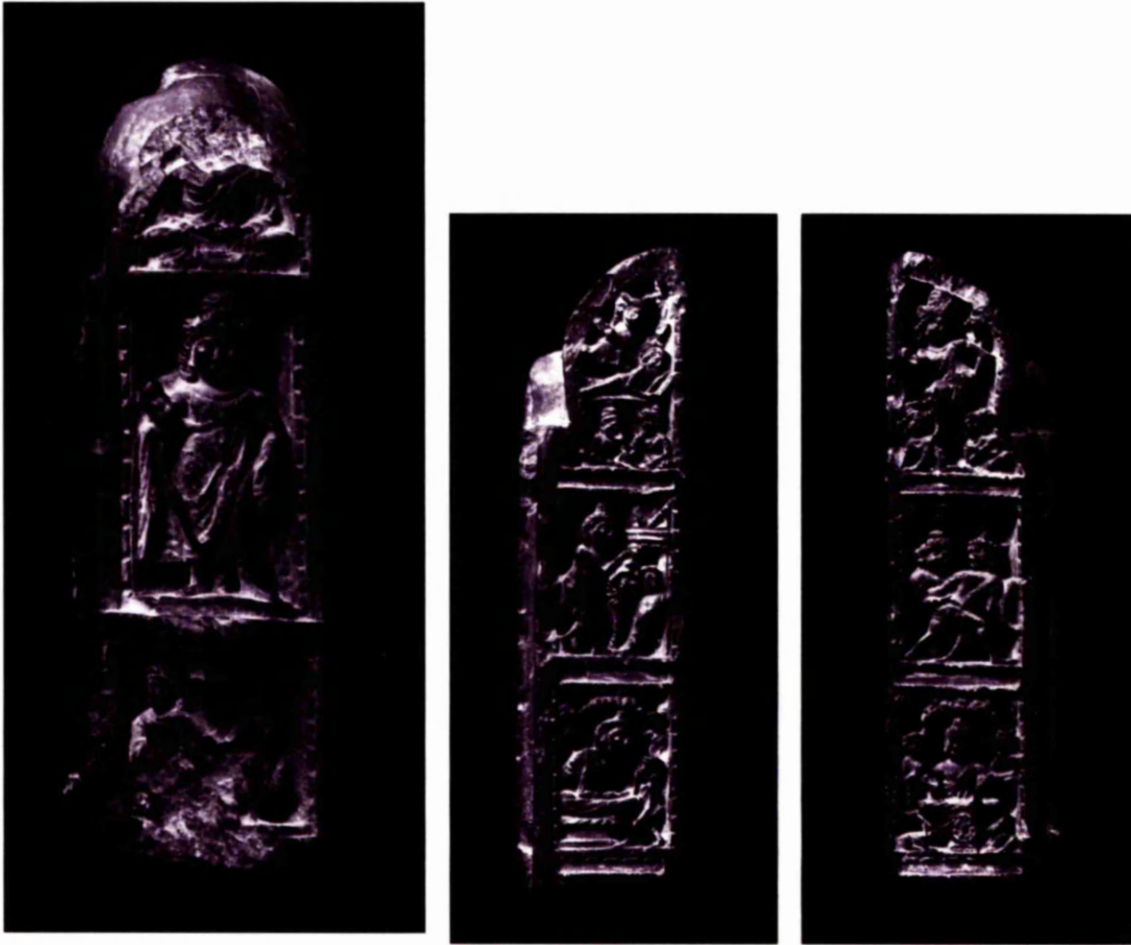


Plate 2 Section of a Portable Shrine (Triptych) with Scenes from the Life of Buddha.
 Pakistan, Gandhara region, 5th - 6th century. Stone with the remains of metal
 pins, H: 11.1 cm.
 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Kronos Collection.
 (After Martin Lerner, *The Flame and the Lotus*. New York: The Metropolitan
 Museum of Art, 1984, pl. 10)



Plate 3 Panel of a Portable Shrine (Triptych) with Scenes from the Jātaka Stories. Excavated at Ming-oi near Karashahr, 5th - 6th century. Wood with traces of pigment, H: 28.2 cm. British Museum, London. (After Roderick Whitfield and Anne Farrer, *Caves of the Thousand Buddhas: Chinese Art from the Silk Route*. London: British Museum, 1990, pl. 158)



Plate 4 Panel of a Portable Shrine (Triptych). Said to have been found at Khocho, 6th - 7th century. Wood, H: 36.2 cm.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō: byakudanbutsu kara nihon no mokuchō butsu e*. Nara: Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 1991, pl. 4)



Plate 5 Panel of a Portable Shrine (Triptych). Excavated at Duldur-Aqur, Kucha, 6th - 7th century. Wood, H: 26 cm.
Musée National des Arts Asiatiques-Guimet, Paris.
(After Nara kenritsu bijutsukan, et al., eds. *Saiyūki no shiruku rōdo: Sanzō Hōshi no michi*. Tokyo: Asahi shinbun sha, 1999, pl. 12)



Plate 6 Portable Shrine (Diptych). Said to have been found at the Mogao Caves, Dunhuang, 7th century. Wood with traces of pigment, H: 18.5 cm. Musée National des Arts Asiatiques-Guimet, Paris.
(After Nara kenritsu bijutsukan, et al., eds. *Saiyūki no shiruku rōdo: Sanzō Hōshi no michi*, pl. 13)



Plate 7 Stūpa-shaped Portable Shrine (Triptych) known as *makura honzon*.
Tang dynasty, last quarter of 7th century. Sandalwood, H: 23.1 cm.
Kongōbu-ji, Mt. Kōya, Wakayama Prefecture.
(After Kōyasan Reihōkan, *Daihōzōten 17: Kōyasan no nyōraizō*, 1996, pl. 10)

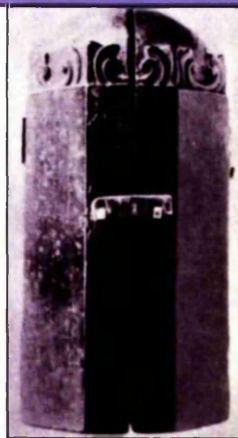


Plate 8 Stūpa-shaped Portable Shrine (Triptych).
Tang dynasty, first half of 8th century. Sandalwood, H: 13.9 cm.
Songgwangsa, Sungju-gun, Korea.
(After Kō Juei, ed. Kokuhō, vol. 2: *Kondōbutsu, Magaibutsu*. Tokyo:
Takeshobō, 1985, pl. 92)



Plate 9 Stūpa-shaped Portable Shrine (Triptych).
Tang dynasty, second quarter of 8th century. Sandalwood, H: 11 cm.
Private Collection, Mie Prefecture.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō: hyakudanbutsu kara nihon no mokuchō butsu e*, pl. 6)



Plate 10 Stūpa-shaped Portable Shrine (Triptych).
 Jin or Southern Song dynasty, 13th century. Sandalwood, H: 20.9 cm.
 Chion-in, Kyoto.
 (After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 10)



Plate 11 Box-shaped Portable Shrine.
Tang dynasty, first quarter of 8th century. Sandalwood, H: 19.3 cm.
Fumon-in, Wakayama Prefecture.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 7)



Plate 12 Box-shaped Portable Shrine (Triptych).
Tang dynasty, third quarter of 8th century. Sandalwood, H: 22 cm.
Itsukushima Jinja, Hiroshima Prefecture.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 8)



Plate 13 Box-shaped Portable Shrine (Triptych).
 Five dynasties or Northern Song dynasty, 10th century.
 Sandalwood with *kirikane* and inserted glass beads, H: 18.2 cm.
 Hōon-ji, Kyoto.
 (After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 9)



Plate 14 Panel of a Portable Shrine (Diptych).
 Heian period, early 10th century.
 Sandalwood, H: 8.4 cm, W: 7.6 cm.
 Komatsu-dera, Ibaragi Prefecture.
 (After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 14)

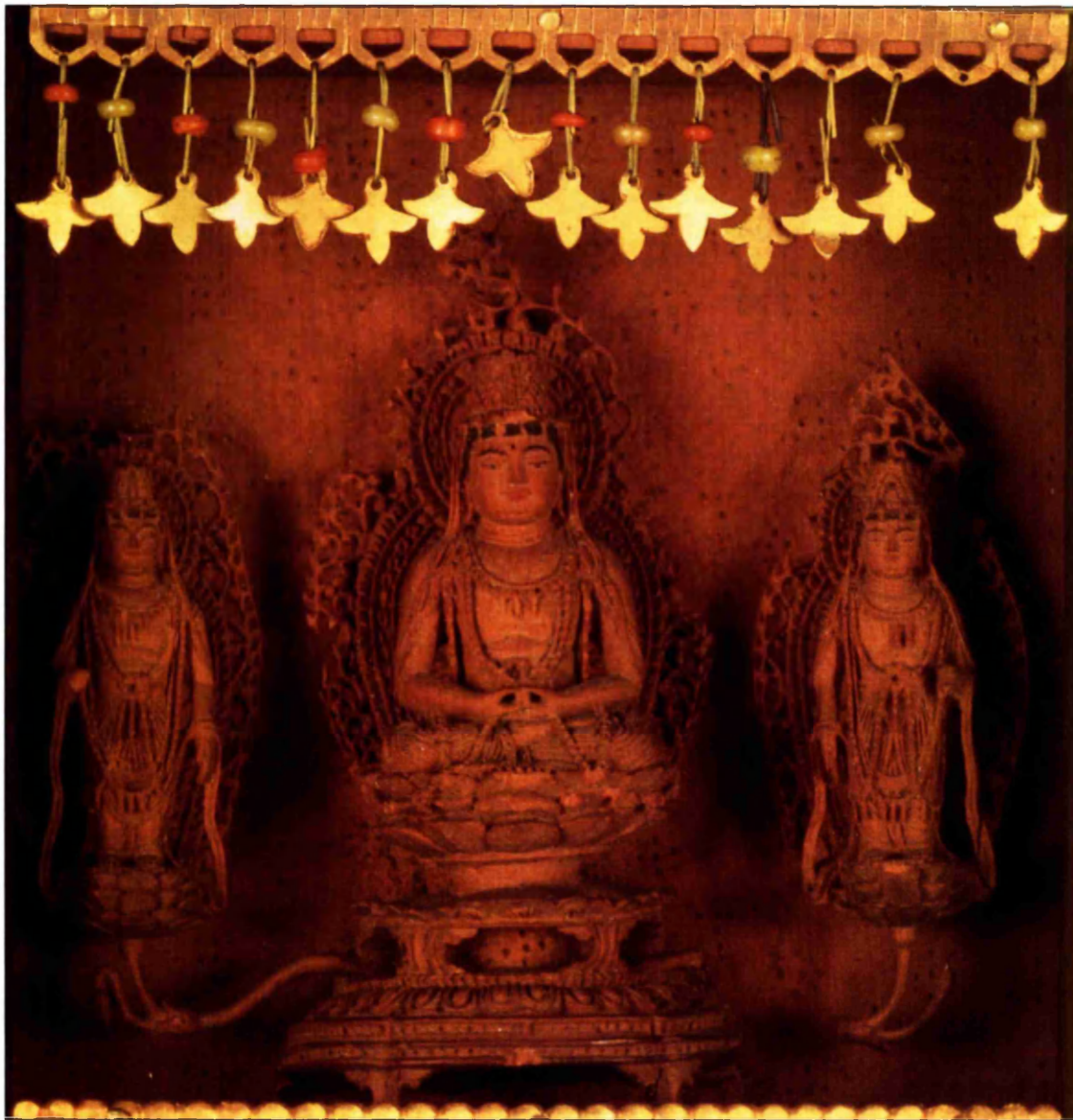


Plate 15 Box-shaped Portable Shrine.
Heian period, first half of 11th century.
Sandalwood, H: 7.3 cm, W: 8.2 cm.
Eishō-ji, Kanagawa Prefecture.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 20)



Plate 16 Box-shaped Portable Shrine.
 Heian period, late 11th to first half of 12th century.
 Sandalwood with *kirikane*, H: 15 cm, W: 12.8 cm.
 Kōsan-ji, Hiroshima Prefecture.
 (After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 19)



Plate 17 Box-shaped Portable Shrine.
 Heian period, second quarter of 12th century.
 Sandalwood, H: 15 cm, W: 10.4 cm.
 Shitennō-ji, Osaka.
 (After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 23)



Plate 18 Box-shaped Portable Shrine (Triptych).
 Kamakura period, second half of 13th century.
 Wood with *kirikane*, H: 14cm.
 Henmyō-in, Wakayama Prefecture.
 (After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 25)



Plate 19 Box-shaped Portable Shrine (Triptych).
Kamakura to Nanbokuchō period, first half of 14th century.
Sandalwood, H: 8.6 cm.
Hōzō-in, Yamagata Prefecture.
(After Nedachi Kensuke, *Aizen Myōō*. Nihon no bijutsu, no. 376, Tokyo:
Shibundō, 1997, pl. 21)



Plate 20 Temple Hall-shaped Shrine.
Heian period, last quarter of 10th century.
Sandalwood, H: 12.5 cm, W: 14.7 cm.
Chiman-ji, Shizuoka Prefecture.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 21)



Plate 21 Temple-Hall shaped Shrine.
 Heian period, first half of 11th century.
 Sandalwood, H: 21.8 cm.
 Kubosō Memorial Museum of Arts, Izumi City, Osaka Prefecture.
 (After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 22)



Plate 22 Incense Container-shaped Box.
 Heian period, second half of 12th century.
 Sandalwood, D: 8.6 cm.
 Kyoto National Museum
 (After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 26)



Plate 23 Incense Container-shaped Box.
 Kamakura period, late 12th to first half of 13th century.
 Wood with *kirikane* and *kindei*, D: 5.5 cm.
 Saizen-in, Wakayama Prefecture.
 (After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 27)

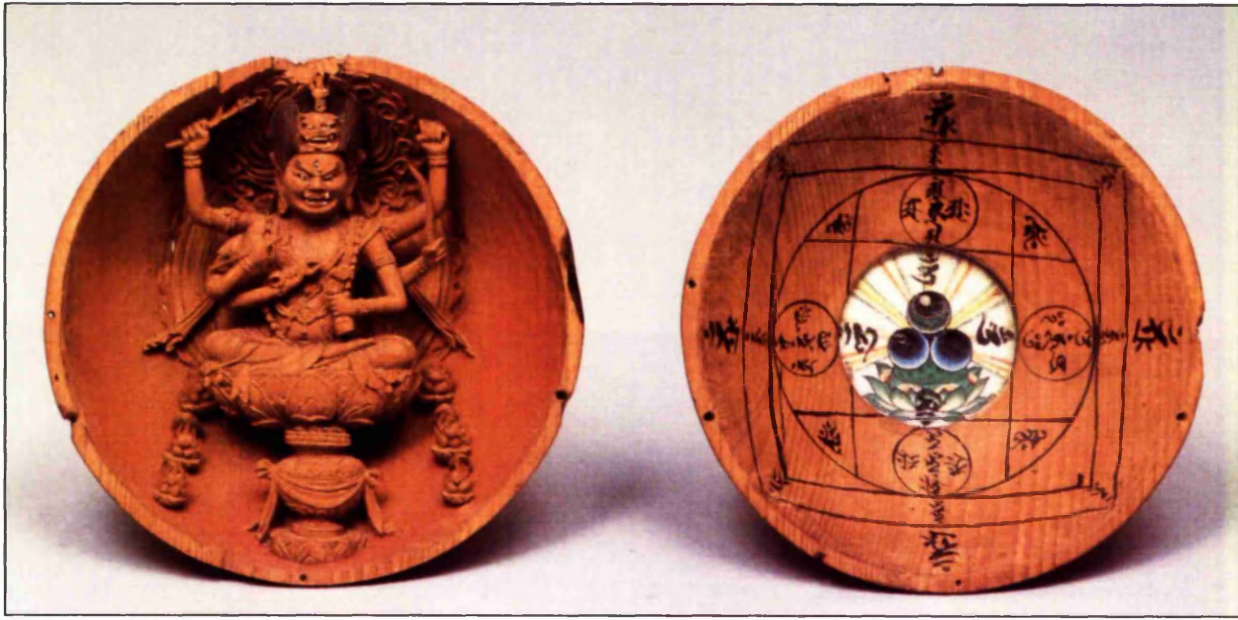


Plate 24 Incense Container-shaped Box.
 Kamakura period, second half of 13th century.
 Wood, D: 8.5 cm.
 Tō-ji, Kyoto.
 (After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Busshari to Hōju: Shaka o shitau kokoro*. Nara: Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 2001, pl. 83)

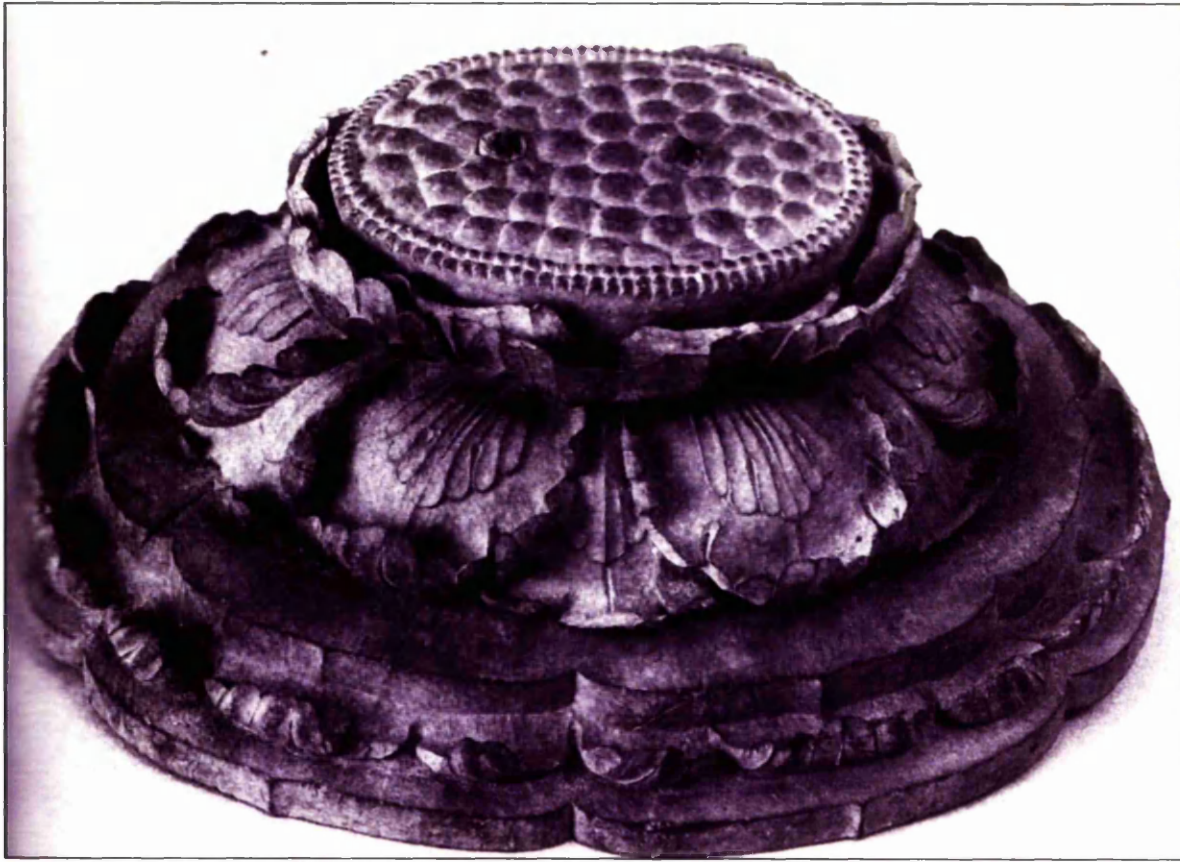


Plate 25 Lotus pedestal.
Nara period, 8th century.
Sandalwood, D: 22.5 cm.
Shōsō-in, Nara
(After Sekine Shunichi, *Hotoke, bosatsu dōnai no shōgon*. Nihon no bijutsu, no. 281, Tokyo: Shibundō, 1989, pl. 68)



Plate 26 Yakushi Nyorai.
Heian period, mid-9th century.
Sandalwood with *kirikane*, H: 9.1 cm.
Shōji-ji, Kyoto.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 71)



Plate 27 Yakushi Nyorai.
Heian period, dated 1103. Made by Ensei and Chōen.
Sandalwood with *danjiki* and *kirikane*, H. of figure: 10.7cm, overall
H: 21.9 cm.
Ninna-ji, Kyoto.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 72)



Plate 28 Yakushi Nyorai.
Heian period, first half of 12th century.
Kaya with *kirikane*, H. of figure: 30.3 cm, overall H: 60 cm.
Ishibe Jinja, Shiga Prefecture.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 73)



Plate 29 Miroku Nyorai.
Heian period, first quarter of 9th century.
Kaya, H: 39 cm.
Tōdai-ji, Nara.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 53)



Plate 30 Shaka Nyorai.
Kamakura period, dated 1225. Made by Zen'en.
Kaya with *danjiki*, H. of figure: 29.2 cm, overall H: 57.2 cm.
Tōdai-ji, Nara.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 88)



Plate 31 Dainichi Nyorai.
Kamakura period, first half of 13th century.
Hinoki, H: 5.2 cm.
Hannya-ji, Nara.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 91-1)



Plate 32 Dainichi Nyorai.
Kamakura period, last quarter of 13th century.
Kaya, H: 11.5 cm.
Chōreki-ji, Aichi Prefecture.
(After Yamamoto Tsutomu, *Dainichi Nyorai zō*. Nihon no bijutsu, no. 374,
Tokyo: Shibundō, 1997, pl. 113)



Plate 33 Jūichimen Kannon.
 Tang dynasty, third quarter of 7th century.
 Sandalwood with *danjiki*, H: 42.1 cm.
 Tokyo National Museum
 (After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 29)



Plate 34 Kumen Kannon.
 Tang dynasty, last quarter of 7th century.
 Sandalwood with *danjiki*, H: 37.6 cm.
 Hōryū-ji, Nara.
 (After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 28)



Plate 35 Jūichimen Kannon.
Tang dynasty, first quarter of 8th century.
Chinese Cherry wood with *danjiki*, H: 44.7 cm.
Jimpuku-ji, Yamaguchi Prefecture.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 30)



Plate 36 Jūichimen Kannon.
Tenpyō period, third quarter of 8th century.
Sandalwood with *kirikane*, H: 42.8 cm.
Nara National Museum.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 31)

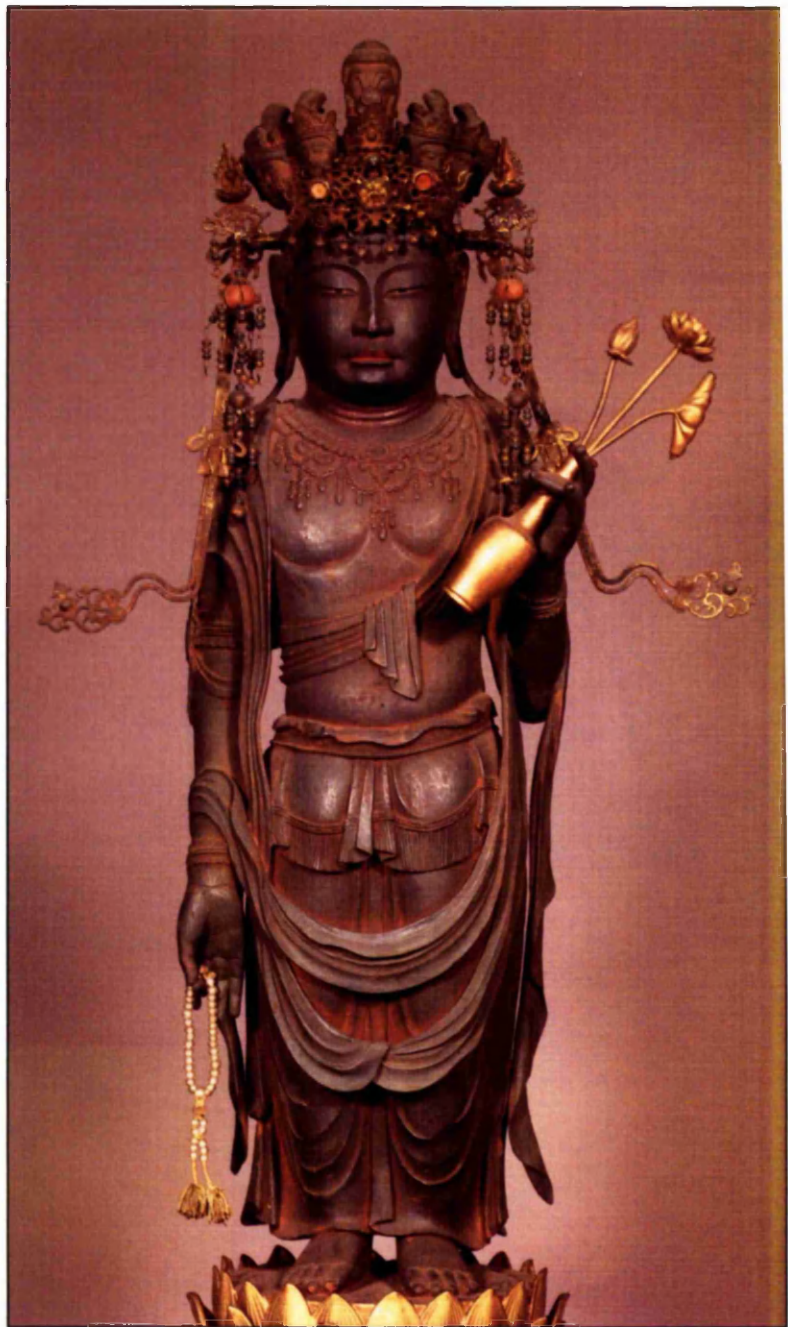


Plate 37 Jūichimen Kannon.
 Tenpyō to Heian period, last quarter of 8th century.
 Hinoki with *danjiki*, H: 50.3 cm.
 Dōmyō-ji, Osaka Prefecture.
 (After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 33)

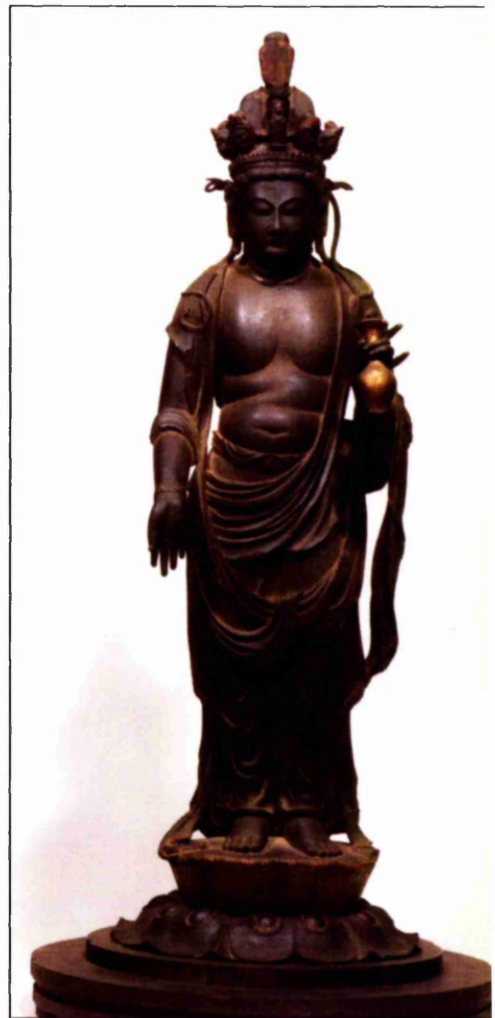


Plate 38 Jūichimen Kannon.
 Heian period, first quarter of 9th century.
Kaya, H: 52 cm.
 Hōshaku-in, Yamagata Prefecture.
 (After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 35)



Plate 39 Jūichimen Kannon.
 Heian period, second quarter of 9th century.
Hinoki with *kirikane*, H: 81.8 cm.
 Onjō-ji, Shiga Prefecture.
 (After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 34)



Plate 40 Jūichimen Kannon.
 Heian period, late 9th to early 10th century.
Kaya, H: 45.5 cm.
 Kaijūsen-ji, Kyoto.
 (After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 36)



Plate 41 Jūichimen Kannon.
 Heian period, first half of 12th century.
Kaya with *danjiki* and *kirikane*, H: 39.2 cm.
 Kōgen-ji, Shiga Prefecture.
 (After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 75)



Plate 42 Jūichimen Kannon.
Kamakura period, second quarter of 13th century.
Sakura with *danjiki*, H. of figure: 39.2 cm, H. including pedestal: 40.8 cm.
Shōryū-ji, Kyoto.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 38)



Plate 43 Senju Kannon.
Heian period, second quarter of 9th century.
Inugaya, H: 51.2 cm.
Enryaku-ji, Shiga Prefecture.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 39)

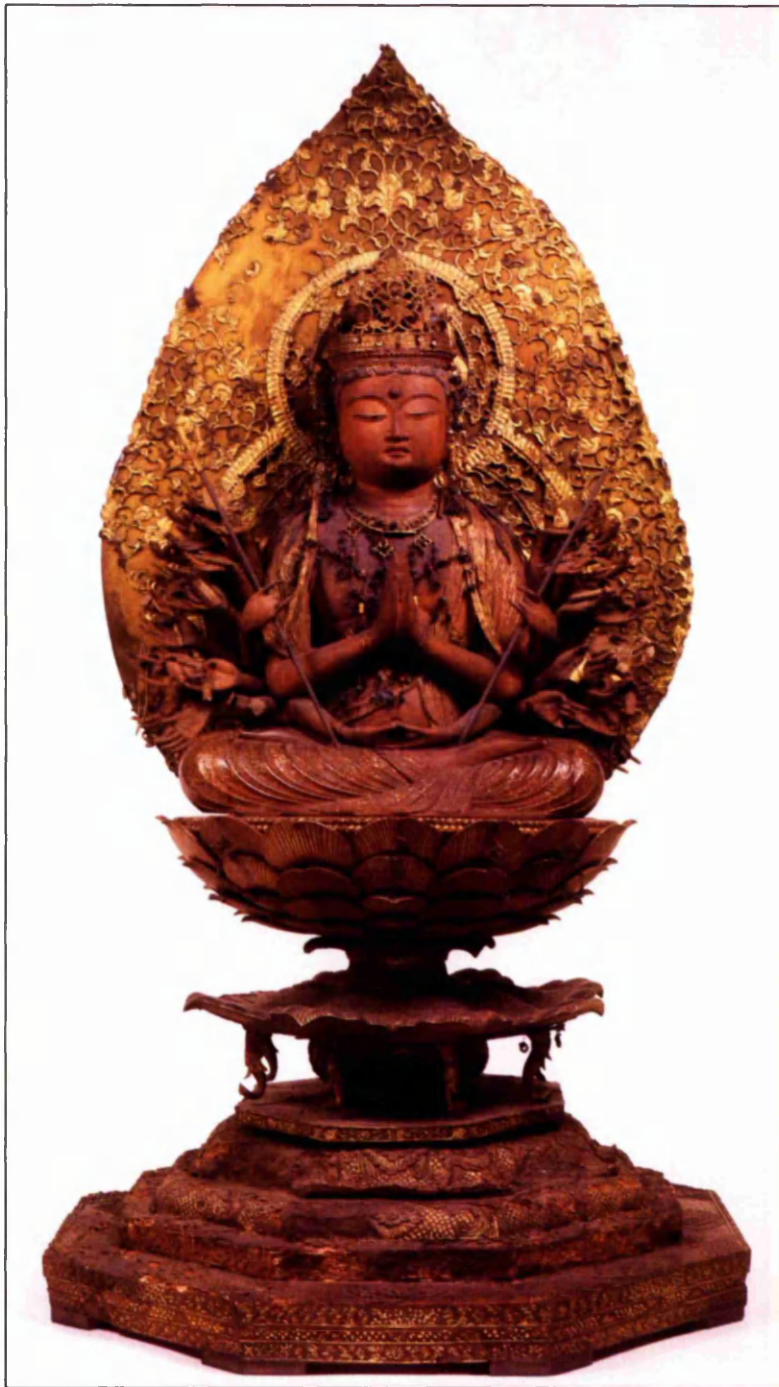


Plate 44 Senju Kannon.
Heian period, dated 1154.
Sandalwood with *danjiki* and *kirikane*.
H. of figure: 31.2 cm, H. including mandorla and throne: 69.1 cm.
Bujō-ji, Kyoto.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 74)

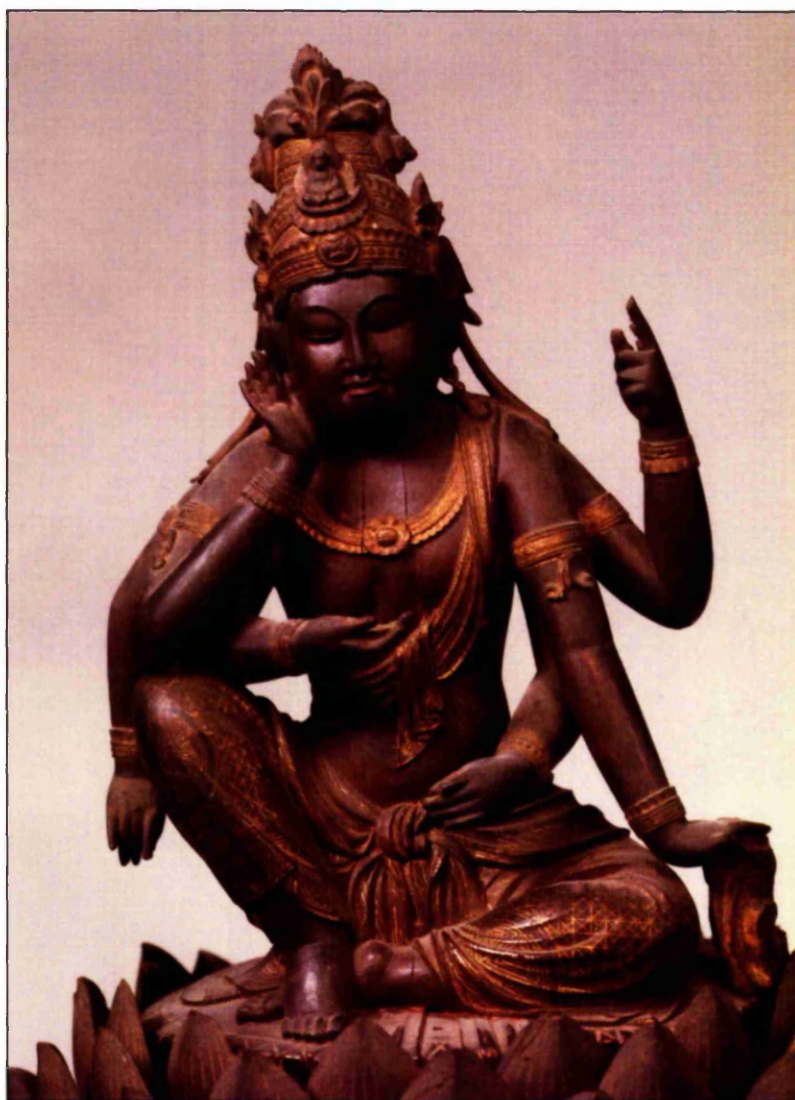


Plate 45 Nyoirin Kannon.
 Tang dynasty, second half of 8th century.
 Sandalwood with *danjiki* and *kirikane*, H: 17.9 cm.
 Hōryū-ji, Nara.
 (After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 40)



Plate 46 Shō Kannon.
 Sui dynasty, late 6th to early 7th century.
 Sandalwood with *danjiki*, H: 74 cm.
 Sakai City Museum, Osaka.
 (After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 41)



Plate 47 Shō Kannon.
 Heian period, mid-9th century.
Kaya or *hinoki* with *danjiki*, H: 51.5 cm.
 Daigo-ji, Kyoto.
 (After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 45)



Plate 48 Shō Kannon, Bonten and Taishakuten (Futama Kannon).
 Kamakura period, first half of 13th century.
 Sandalwood with *kirikane*.
 H. of Shō Kannon: 24.9 cm, H. of Bonten and Taishakuten: 21.7 cm.
 Tō-ji, Kyoto.
 (After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 76)

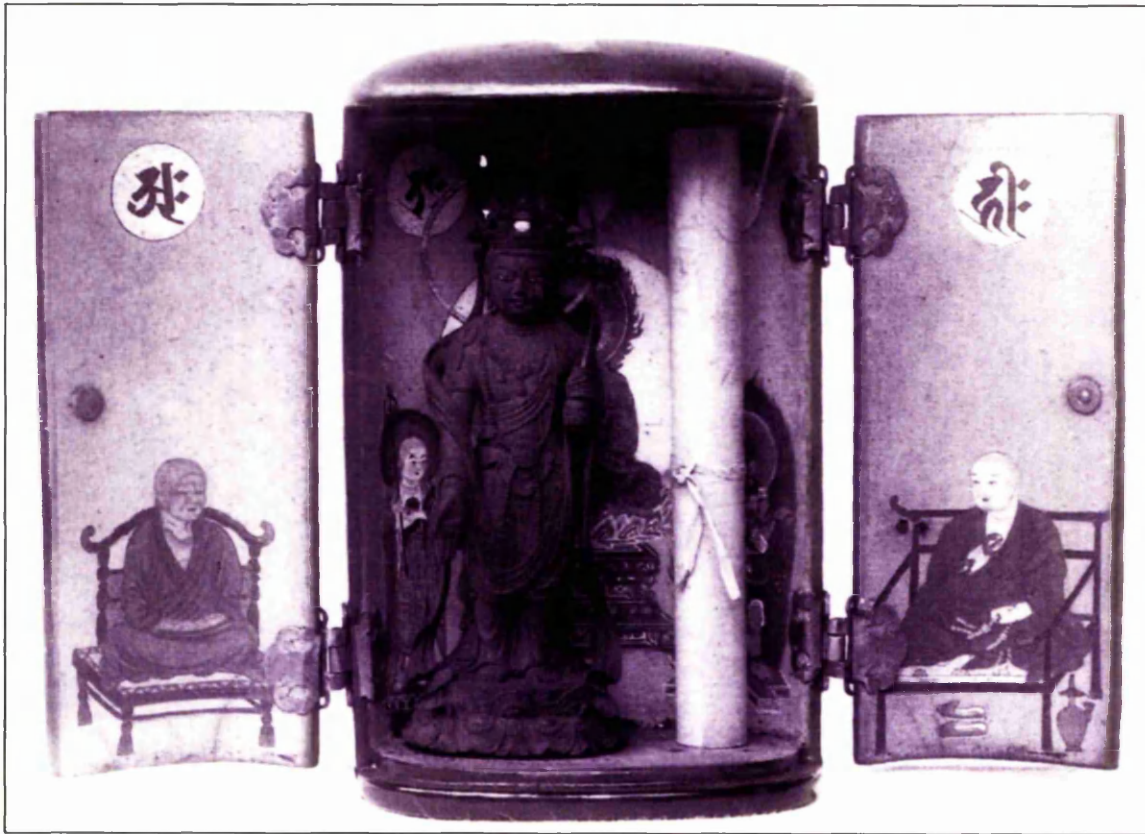


Plate 49 Miroku Bosatsu.
Kamakura period, late 12th to early 13th century.
Sandalwood, H: 7.1 cm.
Kōfuku-ji, Nara.
(After Itō Shirō, *Mirokuzō*. Nihon no bijutsu, no. 316, Tokyo: Shibundō, 1992, pl. 119)



Plate 50 Monju Bosatsu.
Kamakura period, dated 1302.
Wood, H. of figure: 20.6 cm, H. including pedestal: 23.2 cm.
Saidai-ji, Nara.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 93)

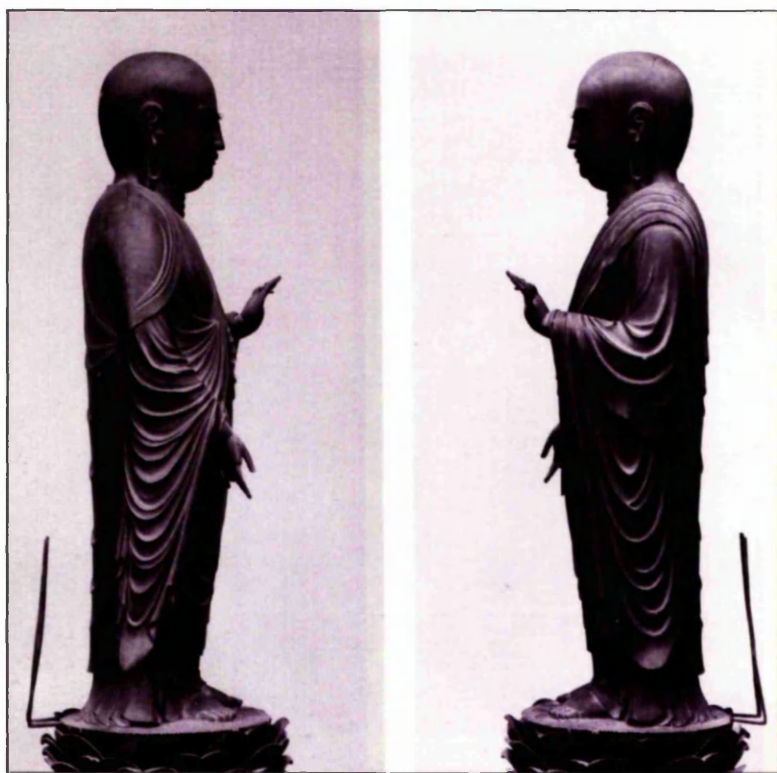


Plate 51 Jizō Bosatsu.
 Heian period, last quarter of 9th century.
Kaya, H: 76.7 cm.
 Hōryū-ji, Nara.
 (After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 62)



Plate 52 Jizō Bosatsu.
Kamakura period, first quarter of 13th century.
Wood with *kirikane*, H: 9.8 cm.
Hannya-ji, Nara.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 91-2)



Plate 53 Aizen Myōō.
Kamakura period, first half of 14th century.
Sandalwood, H: 6.2 cm.
Kanshin-ji, Osaka Prefecture.
(After Nedachi Kensuke, *Aizen Myōō zō*. Nihon no bijutsu, no. 376, Tokyo:
Shibundō, 1997, pls. 8, 80)



Plate 54 Aizen Myōō.
 Nanbokuchō period, second half of 14th century.
 Sandalwood, H: 11.1 cm.
 Private Collection, Japan.
 (After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Busshari to Hōju: Shaka o shitau kokoro*. Nara: Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 2001, pl. 84)



Plate 55 Bishamonten.
Heian period, dated 1011.
Hinoki, H: 85.3 cm.
Seigan-ji, Kyoto.
(After Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō*, pl. 80)



Plate 56 Bishamonten.
Heian period, first quarter of 12th century.
Sandalwood with *kirikane*, H: 32.9 cm.
Kongōbu-ji, Wakayama Prefecture.
(After Kyoto kokuritsu hakubutsukan, et al., eds. *Kūkai to Kōya-san: Kōbō Daishi nyūto sennihakunen kinen*. Kyoto: Kyoto kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 2003, pl. 53)